How Far Will Mr. Johnson Go?

50 CENTS
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MAY 18, 1965

NATIONAL REVIEW

A Journal of Fact and Opinion

HOW TO R. R. A BILL THROUGH CONGRESS

By ROGER A. FREEMAN

FUN IN WASHINGTON: L. B. J. FINDS AN IMAGE

By VICTOR GOLD

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NATIONAL REVIEW

A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

EDITOR: Wm. F. Buckley Jr.
PUBLISHER: William A. Rusher

EDITORS
James Burnham, Frank S. Meyer,
William F. Rickenbacker
MANAGING EDITOR: Priscilla L. Buckley
ASSISTANT PUBLISHER: J. P. McFadden
PRODUCTION EDITOR: Dorothy Rea

ASSOCIATES
Arlene Croce, M. Stanton Evans, Will Herberg,
Hugh Kenner, James Jackson Kilpatrick, Ralph de Toledano,
Timothy J. Wheeler, Garry Wills

CONTRIBUTORS
C. D. Batchelor, L. Brent Bozell, Colm Brogan,
John Chamberlain, Frank Chodorov, D. G. M. Coxe, Guy Davenport,
Joan Didion, W. H. von Dreele, Neal Freeman, Aloise B. Heath,
John D. Kreuttner, Suzanne La Follette, Sir Arnold Lunn,
J. B. Matthews, Vincent Miller, Thomas Molnar, Gerhart Niemeyer,
Morrie Ryskind, Frederick D. Wilhelmsen

FOREIGN CONTRIBUTORS
London: Anthony Lejeune
Munich: E. v. Kuehnelt-Leddihn
African Affairs: Elspeth Huxley
At Large: William S. Schlamm

ART DIRECTOR: James W. O'Bryan
PROMOTION MANAGER: Patrick J. Gorman
CIRCULATION MANAGER: Joan A. Rasanen
ADVERTISING DIRECTOR: Howard W. Long Jr.

CONTENTS MAY 18, 1965 VOL. XVII, NO. 20

THE WEEK 402

ARTICLES, DEPARTMENTS

To the Editor 398
Here We Go Again .....*Wm. F. Buckley Jr.* 411
How Serious Is the President? ....*James Burnham* 412
We Beat the Educationists .....*Alfred Cismaru* 413
How Fares the Lyndon Image? .....*Victor Gold* 414
No Road Back .....*Anthony Lejeune* 418
How to Railroad a School Bill. ..*Roger A. Freeman* 419
Politically Ignorant College Students ..*Russell Kirk* 423
Trans-O-Gram 435
For the Record 436

BOOKS, ARTS, MANNERS

Africa in Perspective *Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn* 424
Paramilitary Politics .....*Richard S. Wheeler* 426
The Decay of Poetry .....*Peter Russell* 428
I Love to Tell the Story .....*Francis Russell* 430
Books in Brief 432

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In This Issue . . .

➔ Mr. **Roger Freeman** analyzes the new education bill and comes to melancholy conclusions about it, and what it foretells:—the nationalization of education. Mr. Freeman, an economist with the Hoover Institution at Stanford University, is a longtime student of the problem of financing public education, and probably more than any single man was responsible over the past five years for exposing the economic unnecessity of the various measures so persistently advocated to save our younger generation from such ignorance as, alas, their elders have shown in enacting this bill. Mr. Freeman has interesting things to say about almost every particular of the bill, and about the pressures that were brought to pass it. He is especially interesting in showing how LBJ pulled the wool over the eyes of the private school lobby (mostly the Catholics), whose critical opposition during the preceding years was dissipated by the government's tentative offer of a few used textbooks. . . . Professor **Alfred Cismaru** tells the story of a successful fight against the educationists by a lady in Vermont. She questioned the necessity of school adornments fancier than anything in the homes of the taxpayers who were importuned to put up the money for an educational seraglio conceived by those who believe that good education can only be administered in sybaritic surroundings. Mr. Cismaru is chairman of the modern language department of St. Michael's College at Winooski, Vermont. . . . Mr. **Victor Gold,** the well known wag who last summer served as press transportation secretary for Senator Goldwater and earned the respect and affection of the killers who reported on the campaign, works for a public relations firm and tells us what kind of a memo *he* would send to LBJ in the event LBJ asked *him* to send a memo on how to improve his pr.

➔ **Anthony Lejeune** writes us a letter from London expressing the pessimism of Professor F. A. Hayek about English prospects after a recent visit there. Mr. Colm Brogan, our alternate regular London correspondent, has been seriously ill, but is, thank God, mending, and we hope soon to hear from him. . . . **Wm. Buckley** writes about the new radicalism among young college students. . . . And **James Burnham** wonders how hopeful conservatives are entitled to be on the basis of President Johnson's showing in South Vietnam during the past few weeks (not overly), and how hopeful we can be about internal developments in South Vietnam (moderately so).

➔ **Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn** reviews with great admiration a collection of essays on Emerging Africa edited by Frank Meyer, to which James Burnham and Elspeth Huxley have also contributed chapters. Mr. Kuehnelt-Leddihn finds in *The African Nettle* an abundance of material truly revealing, on the state of affairs in Africa, its prospects, its enemies, natural and unnatural. . . . **Richard S. Wheeler** reviews a manual for non-violent action published by two civil rights specialists. Mr. Wheeler recently resigned his job as editorial writer for the *Oakland Tribune* to enter law school. . . . Mr. **Peter Russell,** the poet, writes on the decay of the art. . . . And **Francis Russell** regrets having seen the Ten Commandments. ➔

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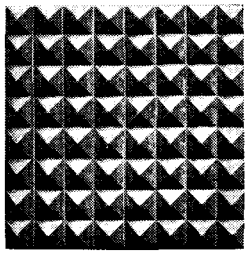

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TO THE EDITOR

The Police and the Press

The section on Wm. Buckley's remarks to the Police Dept. [April 20] was astounding.

Logan, Utah MARY MAUGHAN

May I say that I am disgusted at segregation and race hatred and the civil strife that results from them. But I am more disgusted and deeply shocked at the gross misrepresentation of facts by the *World Telegram, New York Post,* and *Herald Tribune. . . .*

Kalamazoo, Mich. DANA GETMAN

The way I see it, a termite, emerging from the woodwork (at precisely the time Reporter Ferretti said there was loud applause and cheering), stumbled over the wire that was connected to the microphone Mr. Buckley used while delivering his speech to the policemen, causing the plug at the other end to leave its socket.

Brooklyn, N.Y. ELIZABETH KELLY

Refreshed

As a passive and highly pessimistic "right wing" citizen, I found your editorial "Faw Down and Go Boom" [April 20] a refreshing fresh-water splash in the face. Oh! but how I delighted in hearing that those terrible fascistic bigoted extremists infiltrated, in the most delightfully "Communist tactic" way, that "March for Peace" (and Slavery) in Detroit.

Oxnard, Calif. FRANCIS X. YARNELL

Larsony

The NCCR did not "make a public ass" out of Dr. Arthur Larson, its chairman ["The Tax Crackdown," April 20]. This very Liberal "Republican," this head of the one-World Rule of Law Center at Duke University (not North Carolina), diligently sought to make an ass of every Republican and Democrat who voted for Goldwater or who even entertained a constitutional thought. Larson was no more a victim of Democratic chicanery than Alger Hiss was an unwitting agent of the Communist conspiracy. You seem to be implying that this leftist was *used* by the "Liberals" against his wishes. Pug-

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Broiled fish or steak or roast chicken
2 glasses dry wine—if you wish
Green beans or asparagus
(½ cup milk)
Lettuce & tomato salad with French or Roquefort dressing
Coffee or tea (with cream)

DINNER:
Martinis or highballs, if you wish
Hors d'oeuvres of 2 stalks celery stuffed with paté
Shrimp cocktail
Beef, pork, lamb, veal, chicken or turkey
Green Beans (1 cup), Brussels sprouts (½ cup) or cauliflower (1 cup)
2 glasses dry wine—if you wish
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WHAT IS COMMUNISM?

By THE HON. WINSTON S. CHURCHILL, published in the NATIONAL REPUBLIC, November, 1957

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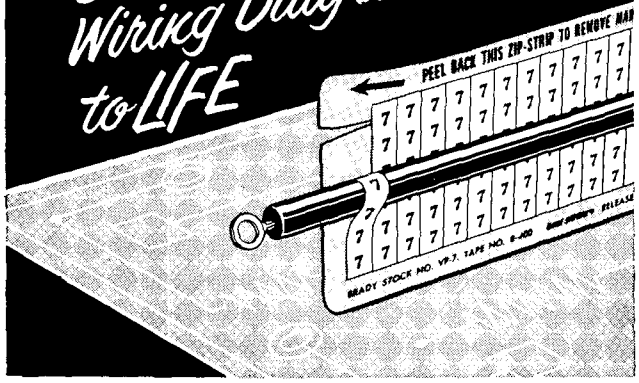

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wash! Recently he wrote that supporters of NCCR should not lose heart for there was good chance that it would rise again.

Kinston, N.C. RICHARD HART

German War Guilt

The Whalen and Jaffa book reviews in the April 20 issue might almost be put together to form an essay of the interaction of politics and history in the present-day world. As Whalen says, "Revisionism became an integral part of the dominant Liberalism of" the 30s. Almost sole German guilt for World War I has again become orthodox. This new approach to German war guilt is in at least one respect more extreme than the Versailles view. Austria-Hungary has been demoted from the role of partner in crime to that of satellite with the result that all of her derelictions are blamed on Germany.

Sole German guilt for World War II is seldom even questioned, which is odd in view of the undisputed fact that the war started by a partition of Poland between Russia and Germany. True, Germany attacked first, but Russia quickly joined in and then committed aggression on her own against Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Finland, and Rumania.

The orthodox view that Germany started two wars and therefore can-

(Continued on p. 433)

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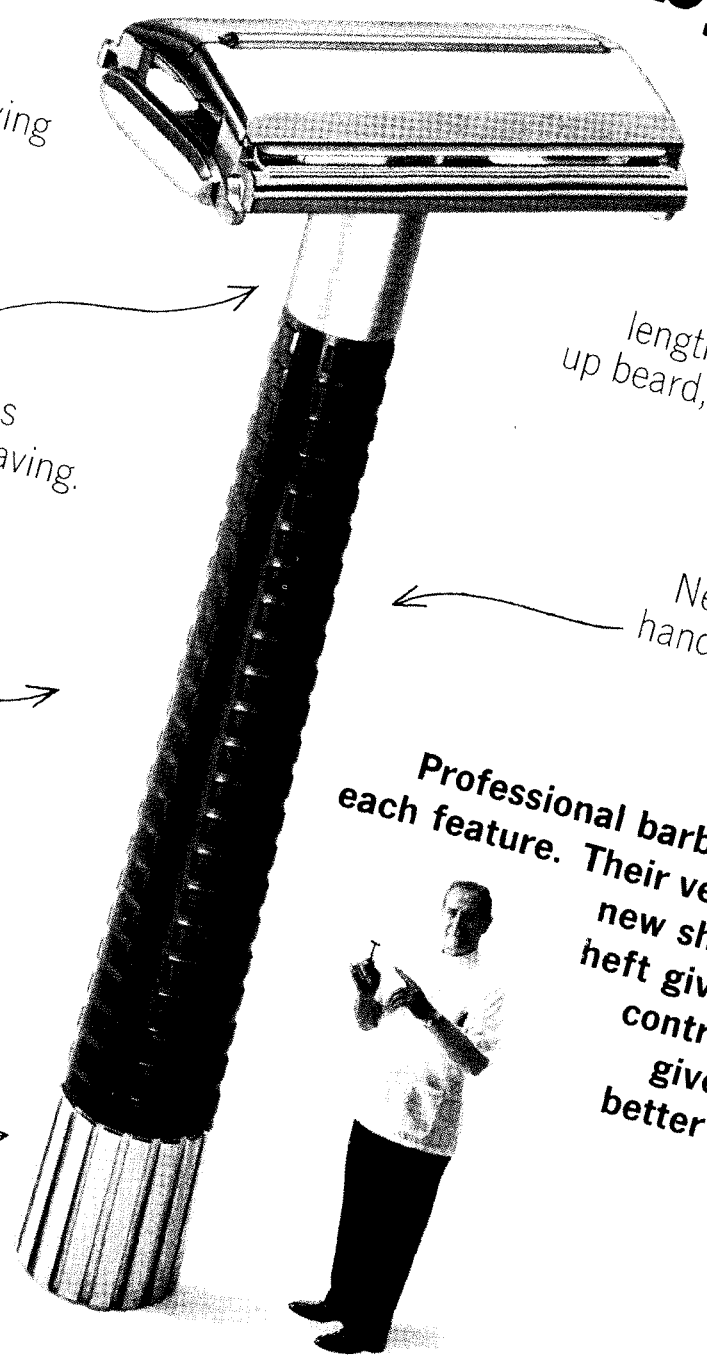

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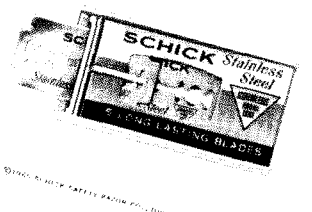

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The WEEK

● Yoo-hoo, world opinion. Where are you?

● Transformation of Berkeley's Free Speech Movement into the Free Student Movement signifies simultaneously a deepening of its political aim and a narrowing of its "mass base." Many of the normal students, antagonized by the obscenity episode and wearied by provocative squabbling, have dropped away. The movement is now hardening around political action units under the control of radicalized cadres made up in considerable part of non-enrolled activists from the campus fringes. The neo-FSM is being directed toward the classic revolutionary goal of "the seizure of power": in this instance, seizure of campus power (over discipline, courses, faculty, administration and even regents) by student committees, along with legal immunization of the campus from the state's ordinary police power.

● One of the first Early Bird shows transmitted by the world's first commercial communications satellite had Dean Rusk, Barry Goldwater, Michael Stewart, Alec Douglas-Home, and Maurice Schumann—live from Washington, New York, London and Paris. At times, the all-pervasive power of the medium was awesome, as when M. Schumann's face would appear on a television set that was being watched by Barry Goldwater, or vice versa. When de Gaulle was mentioned, one wondered why we didn't cut to the Elysée Palace, or wherever he was, and bring him right in. For a political discussion linking two continents and three countries there was a fair amount of pro-Americanism (the subject was Vietnam); maybe everybody was being polite to Comsat, or overawed by the country that evolved it. Yes, we have seen the future and it is electronic. But what does it augur for the affairs of the West when the only note of dissent is introduced by Charles Collingwood?

● Senator Thomas Dodd, appearing on "Meet the Press" May 2 after his return from South Vietnam, gave curiously ambiguous answers, much softened from the tone of his heroic Feb. 23 Senate address, to many of the questions. No, he would not say that any of his Senate colleagues was an appeaser in relation to Vietnam. (Not Senator Gruening? Senator Morse? Senators McGovern or Church? Come, now, Senator didn't you tell us Feb. 23 that "these propositions" put forward by, among others, *"some of my colleagues in the Congress,"* collectively add up to a policy "which I can describe by no other name than 'appeasement' "?) Yes, the object of our stepped-up action in Vietnam is merely to get a negotiated agreement pledging non-aggression against Laos, Cambodia and both Vietnams. (But, Senator, you reminded us on Feb. 23 that "the history of negotiated agreements with the Communists underscores the fact that their promises are worthless and that only those agreements have validity which are self-enforcing or which we have the power to enforce"?)

● A few weeks ago in Washington's Willard Hotel the American Committee on Africa—George Houser, Executive Director—held one of its ritual celebrations of universal uhuru, this time under the general title of "National Conference on the South African Crisis." It was routine that the meetings should be presided over by Bishop James A. Pike and should feature such delegates as Victor Reuther (Walter's brother), James Farmer (CORE) and James Forman (SNCC). What was a new departure for American organizations in this field was the presence of two official Communist representatives: the Byelorussian and Ukrainian members of the UN Special Committee on Africa, no doubt on hand as representing subject nations seeking a few pointers on how to cast off the yoke of imperialism.

● The Noose Division of the United States Chamber of Commerce wangled a majority vote for the policy of selling hemp, hawser, and hangman's handbook to the People of Communist China. The same Chamber was dazed into voting, 174 to 82, to abolish the Connally Reservation, which allows the U.S. to decide, case by case, whether to accept the jurisdiction of the World Court. The editors of NATIONAL REVIEW have voted, unanimously, to transport the Yea-voting members of the Chamber of Commerce to Communist China, there to work at their accustomed tasks, with the right to appeal to the conscience of the World Court.

● Last March the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. decreed an ecumenical boycott of all goods produced in that sink of heresy, Alabama. Last week the Associated Press looked into every major shopping area in said sink, asked if anyone has felt a pinch. AP reports business in Alabama is booming. Has *aggiornamento* come to the faithful of the King?

● "Why is the pretty girl smiling?" asks the caption for an SAS (Scandinavian Airlines System) ad. "She lives in a country where everybody has a job and enough to eat, where crime is practically nonexistent, where there are no slums or ghettos and there hasn't been a war in 150 years. Is it any wonder that 80 per cent of the people who visit Scandinavia wish they could have stayed longer? SAS flies to . . . Stockholm (where the pretty girl lives)." Bulletin from Stockholm, April 23 (UPI): "Swedish women's

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organizations have started a nationwide protest movement against this country's internationally known sexual freedom. More than 100,000 women already have signed a petition protesting the decline of morality in Sweden." Why *is* the pretty girl smiling?

● On March 10, 1948, just two weeks before the Communists took over the government of Czechoslovakia, the body of Foreign Minister Jan Masaryk, son of Thomas Masaryk, founder and first president of the Czech republic, was discovered in the courtyard of the Czech foreign ministry in Prague. He had, so the official story went, committed suicide. There was considerable skepticism about this official version of Masaryk's death but few hard details until *Der Spiegel,* West Germany's rakish equivalent of *Time* magazine, published what it claims is the official police report on Masaryk's "suicide." According to this report, Masaryk was murdered. His bedroom was found in total disarray. His pillows had mysteriously disappeared. The windows of his bathroom, always closed, were found wide open. Bottles, jars, glasses, toilet articles were all over the room, broken, their contents spilled. His ashtray had cigarette butts of several different brands. Masaryk's body was bloody and battered, showing deeper injuries than he would have received from a fall. *Der Spiegel* reports further that American and West German counter-intelligence agents believe that Masaryk (who presumably stood in the way of the Communist coup) was killed by a Maj. Franz Schramm, a Sudeten Czech NKVD officer who had spent twenty years prior to 1948 in the USSR. Schramm reportedly carried out the assassination on direct orders from Moscow, without the knowledge of Klement Gottwald, the first president of the Czechoslovak People's Republic. *Der Spiegel* claims Schramm was subsequently assassinated by three patriotic Czech admirers of Masaryk. A fascinating story, one would think. Whether true or false. Even more fascinating is the fact that the entire U.S. press corps in Bonn failed to pick it up from *Der Spiegel's* April 5 issue. We got the story from Mr. Julius Epstein of the Hoover Institution who thought it was worth passing along.

● Britain's Labor Party has decided to take possession of the steel industry, offering therefor 30 per cent more than the market prices of the various common shares. One wonders why Steel didn't turn around and offer to buy Labor for a slight premium. It costs only a little more to go first class.

● NATIONAL REVIEW has maintained right along that Russia and France were formally correct in refusing to pay any part of the "peace-keeping" costs of UN military operations voted by the General Assembly. The point was that such operations, and the related costs, are exclusively the business of the Security Council according to the UN Charter. Parliamentary maneuvers (1950), and World Court decisions (1962) do not amend the Charter. The U.S., in sticking wrongheadedly to its guns for so long, had some fun badgering Moscow and latterly Paris; but it was a high price to pay, abandoning the strict constitutional construction, merely for the acquisition of a small stick to beat Moscow with. We were in a weak position. Better to forget it. Even better than that: the U.S. should recant, and join Paris and Moscow in repudiating the General Assembly's actions in the Congo and the means by which it sought to finance it.

● When Cambodia broke diplomatic relations with us last week, the temptation was to shrug off the incident with the remark that it had been years since relations with Cambodia had been very diplomatic in any case. But wait: wasn't Cambodia to be the meeting place for a Russian-British-American discussion of left-handed ways to stop the fighting in Vietnam? Does Cambodia's move foreshadow a harsher line from the Reds in Southeast Asia?

● Professor Kenneth Hilborn of the University of Western Ontario, unhappy at Canada's growing reputation as a citadel of appeasement, cites a recent poll taken by the Canadian Peace Research Institute. It reports that a man-on-the-street sampling showed 41 per cent of Canadians in favor of "victory in the Cold War," 33 per cent in favor of a "policy of coexistence." What makes these figures especially interesting is that the PRI also put the question to three "elite" groups: Members of Parliament, businessmen and labor leaders. And found the lawmakers to be: 4 per cent for victory in the Cold War, 73 per cent for coexistence; the businessmen, 6 per cent for victory, 77 per cent for coexistence; labor leaders, 4 per cent for victory, 81 per cent for coexistence. Something's out of whack in Canada, elite-wise.

● Is it ties within the Communist bloc that foreign aid is supposed to loosen, or tongues? Gomulka's May Day blast at our policy in Vietnam was as surly and vicious as anything from Moscow, Peking, or Hanoi on that day of days—and after all we've done for Poland. Not only that, but the Polish Government newspaper has attacked David Halberstam, the *Times'* Pulitzer Prize-winning man in Warsaw, for "tendentious and malicious presentation" of everything from Chopin competitions that were possibly rigged, to anti-Semitic practices. And after all the *New York Times* has done for Poland.

● The Committee of One Million (Against the Admission of Communist China to the United Nations)

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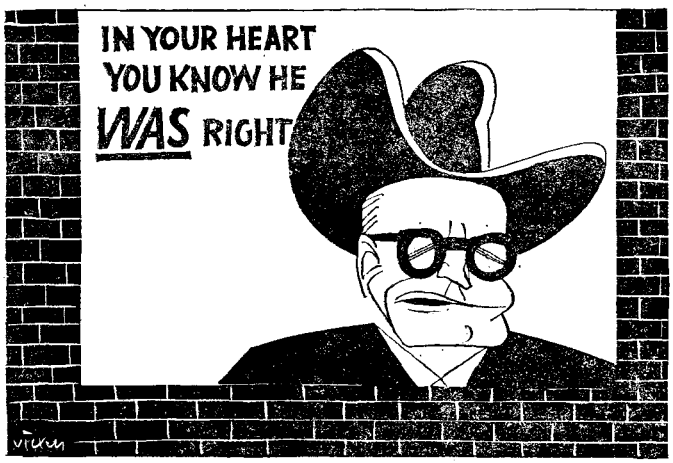
is circulating a petition, specifically against the recognition of Red China, but whose effect is also to fortify the resistance to the Vietcong in South Vietnam. A majority (51 senators, 272 Representatives) of both houses of Congress has already endorsed the petition and it remains to collect the signatures of a great public, and present them to President Johnson. Those who wish copies of the petition, to sign and pass on to others to sign, should write to the Committee of One Million, 79 Madison Avenue, New York 10016.

● St. George's Church in New York discovered, after forty days of fasting, that Holy Week was pretty serious business, as can be seen by its similarities to the present time. "The issues of Holy Week—political intrigue, compromise, religious hatred, persecution, police brutality, capital punishment—are as relevant today as they were almost two thousand years ago," says St. George, A.D. 1965, April 14 *Bulletin,* Vol. 25, No. 7.

● When a '65 Lincoln containing the Ambassador from Sierra Leone was clocked at 95 mph near Carteret, and when, furthermore, His Excellency followed custom by subjecting the trooper who flagged him down to a lot of unceremonious lip, New Jersey Turnpike Director William J. Flanagan ordered his men to bump, tactfully but firmly, all speeding DPL-licensed vehicles from all toll roads, diplomatic immunity or no diplomatic immunity. And so it was that, roaring through Raritan on the Garden State Parkway a few days later, a Nigerian attaché found himself taking the long way back to the UN. The way we hear tell of it, a DPL was doing great/at 80 on the Garden State/When they caught him he grew raucous/Now he's detoured through Secaucus. (Burma Shave.)

● There was a flurry of excitement last month when Soviet astronomers announced they had discovered traces of intelligent life behind the Iron Curtain.



Spawns of Castro

Five years ago or two years, no one—quite literally no one—would have believed a prediction that in 1965 fifteen thousand U.S. troops would land in a Latin American country. That disbelief would have been well grounded: it was in truth unthinkable that either President Dwight D. Eisenhower or President John F. Kennedy should have given the order. President Lyndon Johnson sounded, in fact, as if he may have been deliberately emphasizing his break with the style of his predecessor when, on May 3, he remarked: "We don't propose to sit here in our rocking chair with our hands folded and let the Communists set up any government in the Western Hemisphere." The reference to "rocking chair" must be a figure of speech—Mr. Johnson has not been associated with rocking-chair sitting. It is not yet clear whether the President has undertaken the Dominican intervention, compounding the Vietnam intervention, as an element of a basic shift in strategy and policy, or whether this is only a dramatic tactical variation. (See James Burnham's column in this issue.) But there is no longer any doubt that in the conduct of global affairs the Johnson *style* is the sensation of the season.

It is perhaps relevant to recall that, startling as these Dominican events are in the context of the decade or even the generation, they are not especially out of line in the longer curve of Dominican history. It was in Santo Domingo that Columbus first set foot in the American world, and its history ever since has been tumultuous. Columbus himself, along with his brother and son, were arrested, imprisoned and sent back to Spain during an early disturbance. Spain, France, Britain, and local inhabitants or revolutionaries usually backed by one or another outside power, battled back and forth over the centuries. The continuing dictatorships, revolts and bankruptcies after independence was won—for the fourth or fifth time—from Spain in 1863 led to U.S. politico-economic intervention in 1905 and the arrival of the U.S. Marines in 1916. The Marines stayed that time for eight years, and U.S. control of custom receipts (thus of the budget) continued until 1941. At no time has Santo Domingo had a stable government that was free, constitutional, and democratic.

It would seem, therefore, that the recent events—both Dominican revolt and U.S. intervention—are more a resumption of normal behavior than a new departure. The Dominicans are conducting themselves as they always have. When the initial adventure by Juan Bosch's followers and dissident army elements opened the road for Communist cadres and a point was reached that endangered the security and well-being of the hemisphere, the President, as

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Focus on WASHINGTON

The stunning action in the Dominican Republic stirred up no great debate here, because Washington has learned at first hand, in Cuba, the results of Communist expansion in the Caribbean. But the debate continues to sizzle about Vietnam, because many disagree about the gravity of a Communist conquest of Southeast Asia. Those who disagree are Democrats in the main and are divided into three sects. The most vociferous sect has gathered about Senators Gruening (Alaska) and Morse (Ore.). Gruening, puffed up by the cheers of the Students for a Democratic Society, plans to venture even further into his admittedly eloquent peace-mongering. Morse denounces our policies as "immoral and godless," prophesying that if LBJ continues "to follow the ill advice of McNamara and Rusk he will come out of office the most discredited President in the history of the nation." A more sophisticated sect is led by Senators Frank Church (Ida.) and George McGovern (S.D.), who reflect the internationalism of the Council for a Livable World, that affluent pacifist lobby founded by the late physicist Leo Szilard. The third and most powerful sect is signing up with Senators Mansfield (Mont.) and Fulbright (Ark.), who have long been in sympathy with a policy of negotiated settlement, but have only recently entered actively into the policy debate.

◆ Sen. John Sparkman (D., Ala.) may be carried into the Vietnam debate, too. After twenty years in the Senate, he faces almost certain defeat next year (Alabama pros think Governor Wallace could do it, or freshman Rep. Jim Martin, the Republican who almost stopped Sen. Lister Hill in 1962). Sparkman (he was Stevenson's running mate in 1952) might have a chance if he came out strong for either 1) heightened segregationism, or 2) a stronger foreign policy. The foreign policy gambit would be safer. An overt racist ploy would, among other things, jeopardize that seat some think Sparkman has earned on the federal bench. Besides, as ranking majority member of the Foreign Relations Committee, Sparkman commands a strategic height from which to fire upon his fellow committee members Fulbright, Mansfield, and Morse. He might even talk himself into a job at State. Secretary Rusk has been trying to find some mouthpiece other than Everett McKinley Dirksen.

◆ With two of the three top Senate Democrats on foreign policy bucking the President in Vietnam, the door is open for the third man, Senator Russell Long (La.), to reach for a little more power. Presenting his credentials, Sen. Long recently used the forum of the Chamber of Commerce for a ringing vindication of the official Vietnam policy; by now he may have won command of a working majority in support of the Administration. In addition, Sen. Long is now asserting himself as never before in the Finance Committee, and he may by now be the most important member of it, even counting Chairman Harry Byrd.

◆ Will Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, the provision allowing state right-to-work laws, be repealed? George Meany of the AFL-CIO has stopped by the White House to present Big Labor's bill for services rendered in 1964: Administration support for repeal. (What with the bad press on the dock strike, the disputed Steelworkers election, and the fraudulent IUE election, Mr. Meany had to wait for a change of air.) Thereupon LBJ loaded Labor's demands into his message to the Congress. Labor can count on about 200 firm votes in the House, eighteen short of a majority, but there are almost as many firm votes on the other side. The other side, indeed, may jump at the chance to open up Taft-Hartley for some long-needed orthopedic work: applying the federal anti-trust laws to labor unions, keeping a closer eye on the use of union funds for political purposes, and outlawing discrimination in unions. Though the risks are high, Labor will probably mount an all-out effort, because many years may pass before it again has so many friends in Congress. President Johnson is smack in the middle. Both sides recognize that the future of 14(b) depends upon Johnson's decision to apply The Treatment.

—CATO

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chief of the nation on which the security of the hemisphere depends, acted—as Presidents since James Monroe have acted before the illusory dawn of the Good Neighbor Policy—to meet the danger.

In this dramatic intervention, President Johnson is thus acting *responsibly*: responsibly toward the tradition of his country as well as toward its needs and interests, and responsibly also toward the needs and interests of the smaller and weaker peoples who live, inevitably, whether they wish it or not, under the shelter of his country's mighty wings. And President Johnson's responsible conduct now brings into all the sharper contrast the irresponsibility of our abdications during these past years: above all, our irresponsible failure to act when confronted with Castro and the Communist seizure, through Castro, of Cuba. The blood and chaos in the Dominican Republic, and the political wounds we are suffering—they are real and unavoidable—are part of the price we pay for our failure to handle Castro.

It is impossible to isolate and sterilize the Cuban beachhead of the Communist revolution; it operates and so long as it endures will continue to operate as an active center of revolutionary infection. What happened, or started to happen, two weeks ago in Santo Domingo can happen and sooner or later will happen, if Castro remains, in Colombia, Venezuela, Nicaragua, Guatemala . . . in those nations, and not in those alone, the fire from Cuba has already lighted the fuse of revolutionary explosion.

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The event proved that the President had reason to be satisfied with the readiness of his military arm: the massive deployment proceeded with speed and competence. His verbal equipment was a good deal less impressive. The story changed day by day, almost statement by statement. The Marines landed to protect American lives; then to protect all foreign lives; then to protect everybody's life. The revolt was one day democratic; the next, Communist. We are the servants of the Organization of American States, but we can't wait for the OAS to take action. We will not permit another Communist regime to take over in the Americas, but we do not intervene in the affairs of other countries. The Dominican events were correlated and were not correlated with the events in Vietnam. (The verbal disarray, alas, expresses an underlying political confusion: our firm military action is perhaps going to lead to an acceptance of a disguised popular front regime.)

This verbal confusion is not surprising. After so many years of the rhetoric of Liberal abstractions, of containment and coexistence and convergence and appeasement, our verbal armor is rusty. The President, to judge by the words he and his aides are using, has not really thought through the implications of his recent acts. Until he does so, and relates his acts to a fundamentally changed strategic posture and perspective, until he initiates the shift from a passive strategy of containment and retreat to a forward strategy of resistance, advance and victory, the acts can in the end amount to little more than episodic spasms—"the convulsions," as Lenin dismissed them, "of capitalism in its death throes."

And in this Corner . . .

Recently, as we reported, a spokesman for Internal Revenue announced that inasmuch as it had "finished" cleaning up the left-wing foundations, it would now begin to clean up on right-wing foundations. From time to time, *pro bono publico,* we shall nudge Internal Revenue in the direction of "left-wing foundations" it may have overlooked, and today's nomination is the Louis M. Rabinowitz Foundation, Inc., 120 East 16th Street, New York, founded in 1944 by Louis Rabinowitz père.

Its current president is offspring Victor Rabinowitz—normally a talkative lawyer who seems to specialize in telling courts all over the land why they should not harass Communist people or Communist countries (he defended Cuba before the Supreme Court in 1963, signed an *amicus curiae* brief in 1950 in behalf of the eleven Communist leaders, served as attorney for Joanne Grant in 1962 when she appeared before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee to invoke the 5th Amendment, etc. etc.)—who is not himself talkative about his ideological allegiances, having pleaded the 5th Amendment before HUAC.

His foundation, of which presumably his daughter Joni is heiress presumptive (she has been charged with perjury for her activities in Albany, Georgia, belonged to the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, and attended the Communist 8th World Youth Festival), makes grants to Communist-penetrated civil rights organizations, such as SNCC, and the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. . . . After Internal Revenue is through investigating the activities of H. L. Hunt, it might have a look in at 120 East 16th Street, New York Zip 10003. To be continued.

On the Death Penalty

Not long ago a collegium of criminal prosecutors came up with the recommendation that the death penalty be abolished, and this not from any sentimental predilection but on the practical grounds that the abolition of the death penalty would make their work easier. The Supreme Court, and other courts, have become so awed (so goes their reasoning) at the notion of the death sentence, that they have fashioned an almost impenetrable legal barrier to the imposition of it. Which is to say: rather than run the risk of condemning one innocent man, the courts have thrown so much of the law into support of the defendant that no one gets convicted of anything. Because of these over-finicky procedural innovations, the police and the prosecutors are having trouble hailing malefactors into court.

So the prosecutors appear to be angling for a trade: if they are willing to give up the death penalty, will the courts be willing to place more emphasis on the need for strong weapons in the hands of the law?

Anyone who cares to venture a prediction will be aware that the trend seems to be towards abolition. Ten states had abolished the death penalty when the prosecutors met; Iowa fell in line recently; Governor Clement of Tennessee not long ago commuted the death sentences of every inhabitant of his death house. And one of the more interesting arguments is this: if a juror through absolute horror of the death penalty casts a dishonest vote for acquittal, doesn't the death penalty actually make it easier on *some* lucky murderers?

The Supreme Court, having struck a rather lofty and rigid pose in such decisions as *Mallory, Mapp,* and *Gideon,* will not soon find a graceful way to turn around and face the new developments. But they remain new developments—a certain groundswell favoring abolition of the death penalty—and the Supreme Court lives off groundswells.

As things now stand, that is how the various

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parties to the debate shape up. But there is an enormous force that has yet to be heard from, that three-quarters of the population who live in major cities that can hardly be classified as anything but riot centers. There's a murder a day in New York, but according to present evidence it appears that more New Yorkers are working for abolition of the death penalty than are worrying about the hobbles that the courts have fastened to the limbs and billy sticks of the law enforcement agencies.

The balance of forces will change if the city dwellers get organized. A society that is being victimized does not rise up to strike a blow for leniency.

Proof Positive

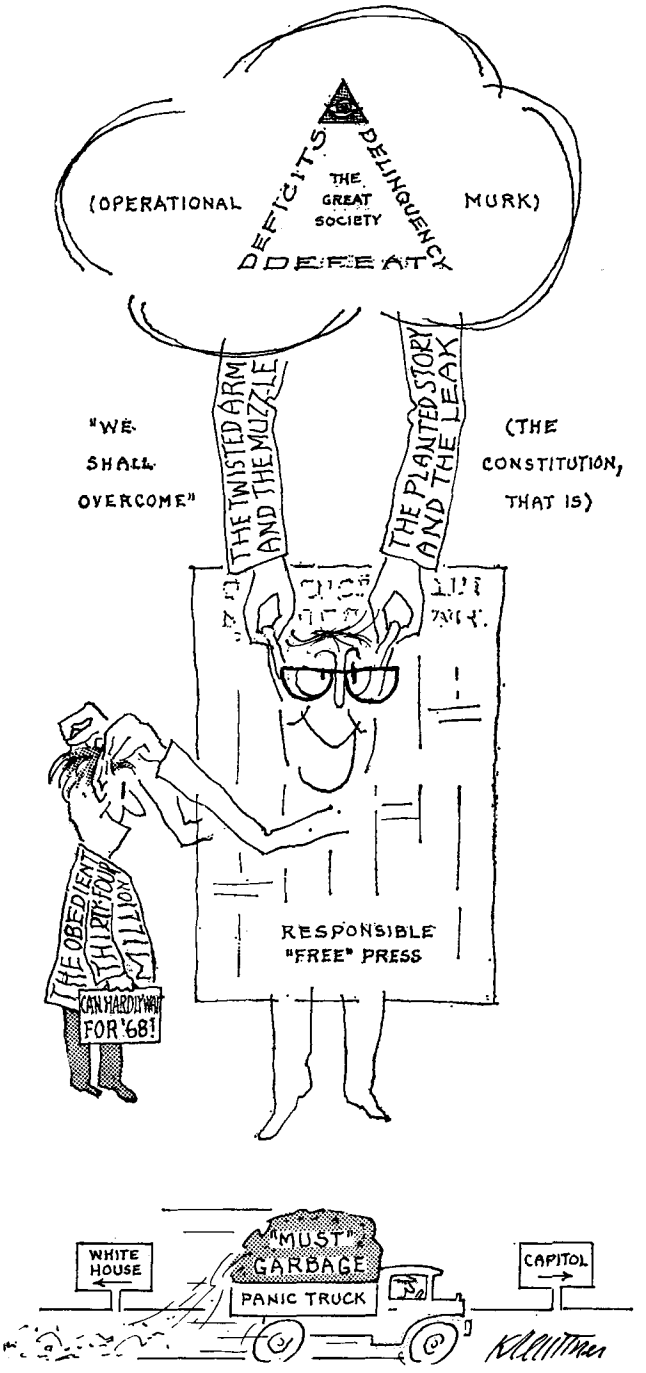
Moscow and Peking (everyone tells us) are at each other's throats, pursuing diametrically opposed international policies ("peaceful coexistence" *vs.* "revolutionary struggle"). Can you prove it, we ask? Just look (this was a month or two ago): Peking is frothing at the mouth in support of Hanoi, denunciation of Washington, and demand for total revolulutionary victory; Moscow remains calm, is pouring oil on the Gulf of Tonkin and is obviously working toward a peaceful settlement. But, but (we ask again, last week), what about Kosygin's pledge (April 19) to send volunteers to Hanoi and to "retaliate in kind" for U.S. bombs and "poison gas"?—Exactly, the explanation comes at once, that's what *completes* the proof: this intransigence on Moscow's part is the confirmation of the depth of the split —Moscow has got to outdo Peking in revolutionary performance in order to keep status with the radicalized masses. So what is it that Moscow might do (we wonder to ourselves), that could conceivably *disprove* the accepted theory of the split and the contrary policies? If Moscow acts soft, that proves her in total conflict with Peking; if Moscow acts hard, that too is proof.

A student of scientific method might point out that a theory which cannot be disproved no matter what happens is not a genuine statement about the world of space and time, but either a tautology or a disguised expression of feeling.

Two Communists show up in Caracas bearing $270,000 in cash (the top compliment of the season to the poor old dollar) for the Venezuelan terrorist organization, FALN. Peking Communists, obviously? Well, no, as a matter of fact, these happen to be envoys of the Italian Communist Party, more firmly anti-Peking (in the Kremlinologists' scratch sheets) than even the Russian party. That's just what *proves* the reality of the split, you see—the Italians have got to support terrorists massively to camouflage their *real* policy of super-peaceful coexistence. . . .

Waive the Rules, Britannia!

The blockade on British rock-and-roll singers, which the American Federation of Radio Artists thinks it must erect in order to protect the native product from competition, is handing the taste-makers a lot of laughs, there being—doesn't everybody know?—no aesthetic means whatever of telling "these screechers," as the *Times* calls them, apart. The ban is wrong, of course, but so is the *Times*. Let anyone



"Of course, there's been some criticism of the President's domestic policies, but we think his decision to send Marines in to Turn On the Water in Santo Domingo and Vietnam is terrifically novel and makes him Tall in the Saddle!"

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who thinks not consider the words of critic Gene Lees in the current issue of *HiFi/Stereo Review* (made in U.S.A.) and then decide whether it mightn't be, in point of fact, culturally maleficent to rule Britannia out.

"Cumulatively," Mr. Lees writes, "American r&r has communicated a curiously vicious kind of sexuality, which still obtains in so-called surfing music, plus an extraordinary hostility to adults—what I call switchblade content. The Beatles' film was refreshing because it poked fun at the adult world without hatred. Whereas American r&r helped widen the breach between parents and children, *A Hard Day's Night* narrowed it: adults and adolescents could see the film together, chuckle over each other's foibles, and understand each other better. British r&r has tended to be music for adolescents without being music against adults."

Paul's Second Encyclical

Mense Maio ("In the Month of May"), the second encyclical of Pope Paul VI's 22-month reign, was at once adapted by each commentator, as has become the custom, to his special interest of the moment. Robert C. Doty, in the *New York Times,* discovered in it an endorsement of President Johnson's Johns Hopkins speech, Prime Minister Harold Wilson's negotiations in Washington, and the de Gaulle-Gromyko accord in Paris. The document itself moves in more complex and for the most part less immediate dimensions. Much of it is a lofty and in some passages lyrical restatement of the eternal meaning of the Mother of Christ in the life and doctrine of the Catholic Church. Among events in the topical sphere, Pope Paul singles out for comment "the historic moment" marked by the Ecumenical Council and the "grave new threats" to peace. Expressing his fears and appealing to "all who hold responsibility in public life," the Pope reminds men that "true peace based on the solid, lasting foundations of justice and love . . . is not merely of our making; it is also, and particularly, a gift from God."

In a remarkable and unprecedented paragraph, he singles out and defines the specific new threat to peace: "populations of entire nations are subjected to unspeakable sufferings caused by agitation, guerrilla warfare ever growing in extent and intensity. . . . Recourse is had to methods and attitudes which stand in open revolt against the moral sensibilities and the customs of a civilized people. In this respect, we cannot fail to raise our voice in defense of the dignity of man and of Christian civilization, we cannot fail to condemn acts of guerrilla warfare and terrorism, the practice of holding hostages and of taking reprisals against unarmed civilians. These are crimes which not only reverse the development of the sense of what is fair and humane, but also embitter even more the hearts of those in conflict."

Thicker than Water

Kenya's President Jomo Kenyatta suddenly awoke a fortnight ago from his anti-Western obsessions to find his country on the brink of a Communist takeover. Since then he has been trying frantically to follow Ariadne's thread back over the ground of his own heedless post-independence policies. He has denounced agitation by Communist agents, called home a number of Kenyan students from Communist nations, given permission for shifts to U.S. universities, and taken over the newly opened Lumumba Institute—a Communist indoctrination center financed by Iron Curtain funds, staffed in large part by instructors trained in Moscow, Prague, and Peking, and planned as a key factor in the subversion of Kenya. Still formidable and untouched is Kenya's news service operation, set up, equipped and staffed by Czechoslovakia and East Germany, and possessed of a monopoly, granted by Burning Spear's government, for domestic and international coverage in both press and radio-TV.

There were a few observers who enjoyed the irony of speeches by veteran Mau Mau members of parliament declaring that if the Lumumba Institute were not taken over quickly by the government of the Mau Mau's founder, "fire and blood" would flow before long in Kenya. It does make a difference whose blood is likely to flow.

Trade with the Reds

In a television interview on April 25 Commerce Secretary John T. Connor stated that restrictions on selling strategic goods to the Communist bloc "should not be eliminated completely." Translated from the original doubletalk, this means that key modifications are being planned in the Export Control Act of 1949, due to expire shortly. In the period 1952-1962, Western European nations totaled $32 billion in trade with the Sino-Soviet nations, and most of the exports were in such critical items as machine tools, electronic equipment, and steel pipe. U.S. business, which has on the whole gone along with the Export Control Act, is economically disadvantaged as long as the U.S. Government continues to ignore its allies' disregard of the embargo on strategic shipments behind the Iron Curtain.

Open trade with the Communist countries, adumbrated in the notorious U.S.-USSR wheat sale of 1963, had been an objective of the Kennedy Admini-

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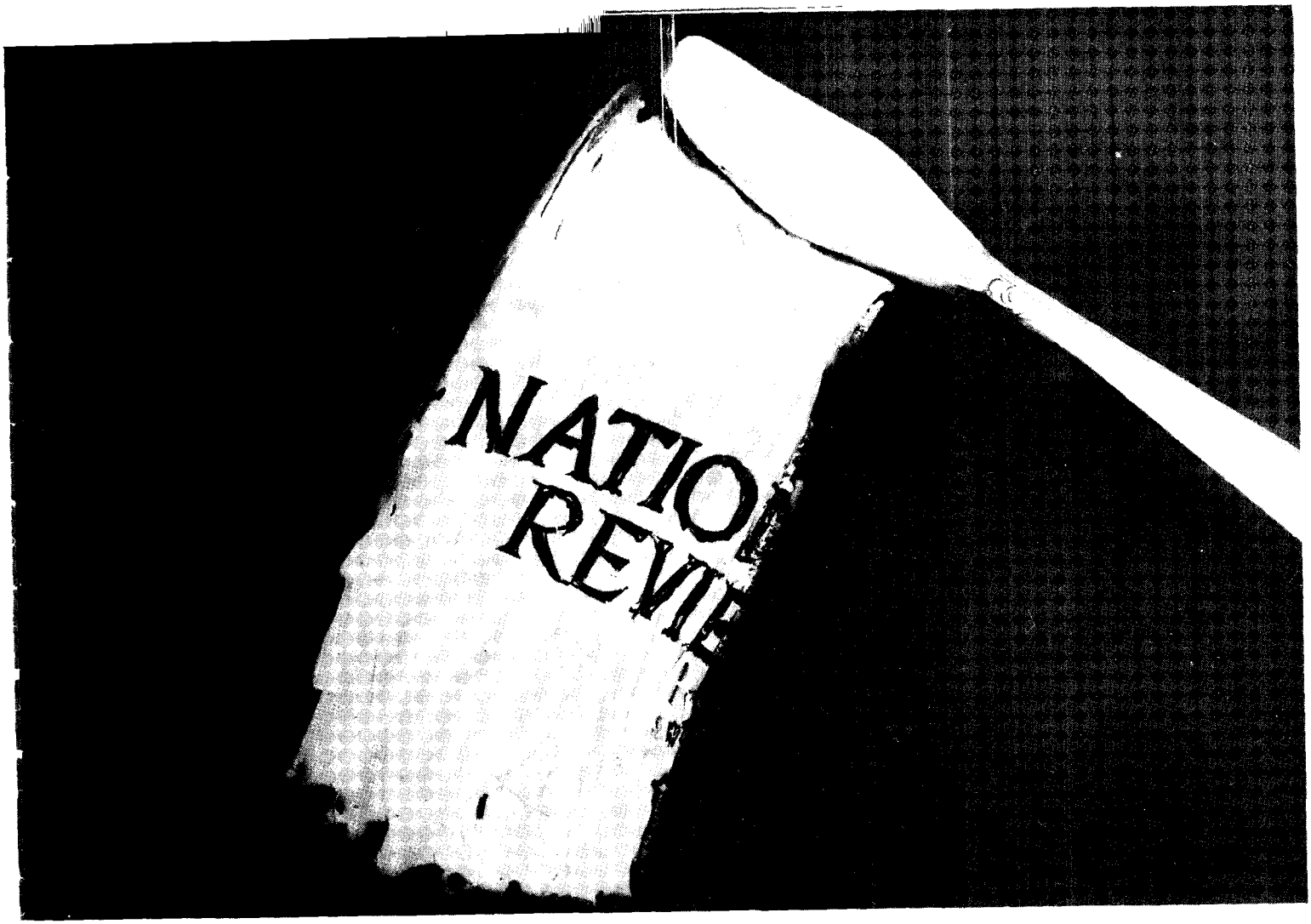

(Above-average reading time for this ad: 1 min., 17 secs.[1])

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here is a report on the results--and the latest facts about how close you've brought us to our goal*

It's no secret that **National Review** is determined to reach its goal of 100,000 paid circulation in this, our 10th Anniversary Year.

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So we turned to you, our readers, and asked your help in reaching the magic number.[2]

And you did. During the past two months, thousands of our readers have introduced **more** thousands of their friends to NR, mostly by using the handy reply cards like the one facing this page. The result: **National Review is America's fastest-growing magazine**[3] with a current paid circulation of well over 90,000 (Publisher's estimate for the issue you have in your hand: 94,959).

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[1]*N.B.: We don't have any average readers.*

[2]*It's not magic to us, you understand—but advertisers, they say, take it very seriously—so naturally we just can't wait to provide it for them on a regular basis. As far as* **we're** *concerned, however, any 10,000 NR subscribers are worth at least 100,000 of anybody else's.*

[3]*There is one exception:* **Skiing** *Mazagine indicates a higher rate of growth, but it is a specialized magazine published only six months of the year. Its increase in subscriptions is 7.8%, but* **Skiing** *shows a whopping 100.3% increase in newsstand sales, the result, primarily, of new national distribution.*

***Check the percentages of increase for these 7 well-known magazines:**

Publication	*% of Circulation Increase*
National Review	28.6
Newsweek	8.1
U.S. News & World Report	6.3
Time	5.8
Life	0.9
Look	0.4
The New Yorker	0.1

(All figures taken from the Magazine Publishers Association report of Audit Bureau of Circulation listing for six months ending December 31, 1964, showing percentage of change over six months period ending December 31, 1963.)

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stration before Lyndon Johnson re-introduced it in his State of the Union address last January. Johnson's interest can be seen in his encouragement of the 60 prominent American businessmen who went to Moscow last winter to talk turkey with Kosygin & Co.; and in his appointment of a special blue-ribbon businessmen's council to advise him on the progress of trade proposals. Spokesmen for the Administration's point of view, such as Senators Magnuson and Fulbright, are pressing the beguiling theme of "peace with profits." It's expected that the campaign will be capped by the President himself, in a message to Congress outlining a *Novaya Ekonomisticheskaya Politika* with the Russian Communist bloc—but not, for so long as Vietnam boils, with Peking.

Even so, businessmen are rapidly preparing the way. A special committee appointed by Governor Brown of California has filed its recommendation: let us trade with Communist China. The Chamber of Commerce, under the prodding of Erwin Canham of the *Christian Science Monitor,* has called for "revising" our relations with Communist Asia, in order to establish contact with the "Chinese people." Unscrambled, this means: let's trade.

As for the Soviet Union, the present need for Western wealth is acute. In March, Brezhnev declared an (other) agriculture crisis comparable to the wheat shortage of '63. Russian farms have been ordered to fill a quota of 54 million tons a year for the next five years, but the actual need is closer to 65 million tons, and the difference—which can easily be diverted to the manufacture of a rocket-fueling alcohol—will probably be made up by Canadian, Australian and, as now seems all too likely, American surpluses.

Edward R. Murrow, RIP

It is a pity that a dramatic half-hour presentation of the life, achievements, and death of Edward R. Murrow was not prepared, for posthumous release, by Edward R. Murrow. He had uniquely the skill to wrest the highest dramatic content out of any situation and his moral polarizations would have been eminently suitable to an elegiac treatment of his own life. There were the bad guys, and the good guys, and he was the good guys' best guy on TV. But more than just that, because he did develop a form, he and Fred Friendly, that hadn't been fully developed theretofore. It went like this. PAN IN FULL FACE OF SENATOR MCCARTHY. *He is perspiring and weaving a little in front of a microphone, preparing to speak.* No music. Total silence. Then the Senator lets out a long burp. SHIFT TO ED MURROW. "Ladies and gentlemen, this evening we'll take a look at Senator McCarthy. . . ."

That one was his most important show, and all the obituary writers mentioned it, and the great courage it took to attack Senator McCarthy—which certainly indicated that this is a nation whose people are courageous, since everybody was doing it, or at least everybody who counts. Everybody *moral.* And Edward R. Murrow was the most moral man on television, because he had the guts to show up Senator McCarthy for what he was. The lonely demurral of the television critic for the *New Yorker* went unnoticed. He made the point that there wasn't anybody in the world you couldn't demolish by doing to him what Murrow did to McCarthy. And indeed, if there were five million feet of film on St. Francis of Assisi, you could probably find a shot of him running away naked from his father's house (he did), and Ed Murrow could prove he was an exhibitionist—and a poseur (he affected to talk to the birds!).

It wasn't only McCarthy. It was the American Legion (when it organized a boycott against a Communist). Or farmers in the Southwest (for hiring wetbacks). At the other end of the picture, everybody was wholly noble, wholly glamorous, equally distorted. For years Murrow brought his camera into the living rooms of the gaudy-great for "Person-to-Person" interviews, and they were all humble, homey, wonderful, talented people. Those Persons who cared at all about politics were Liberal, like the Person who interviewed them, and all the roars of warfare were subdued by the *Gemütlichkeit* they engendered together. The only time he left his world of black and white was when, as head of the U.S. Information Service, the time came to promote America around the world. As regards America, he told a Senate Subcommittee, he would report the good and the bad, tell the truth about our country. He could not bring himself to invoke his dramatic talents for the unmixed lionization of what he admired, to the service of a country he did not, in fact, admire all that much.

Edward Murrow was a student of the Marxist historian Vernon Parrington, in early years did work for the Soviet travel bureau, and mingled with the left-set in New York. He was most probably never a Communist, and certainly he was anti-Communist in later life on matters it was safe to be anti-Communist about (*e.g.* yes on the Marshall Plan, no on HUAC). He was endowed with a dramatic voice, and a dramatic way of looking at things, and he died undramatically, the tortured death of lung cancer, as though he had been sentenced to take one painful breath for every lungful of tobacco he had inhaled in the course of an addicted lifetime. His legacy is a dangerous art form, but there is no denying the theatrical genius of the man who developed it, whose personal suffering we join with his admirers in mourning.

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On the Right

Here We Go Again

WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

Madison, Wisc. A student at the University of Wisconsin, bright, pretty, un-jeaned and with a keen sense of history, has been hard at work along with a small group of fellow-students who together succeeded in collecting no less than 6,000 student signatures in support of President Johnson's policies in South Vietnam. She is flushed by the one-shot success, but on the whole gloomy about political developments on her campus, which are presumably not significantly different from political developments on other large campuses. "What we face is a radical left that doesn't know that the history of Communism is an expression of the nature of Communism," she said.

Buckley

So it was during the thirties in American colleges, when Soviet Russia was worshiped by the radical left as the Bethlehem of the new order. When the Redeemer Stalin began killing people all over the lot, including almost everyone of his long-time apostles, disillusion set in among the most sensitive of his admirers. When he then signed a pact with Hitler, others broke ranks. The crushing of the Budapest freedom fighters, quickly followed by Khrushchev's speech before the 20th Congress denouncing his predecessor as a sadistic megalomaniac, was, for the hardy majority, the final blow: and for a half dozen years the Communist Party was deeply hurt—irreparably hurt, as far as the middle and other generations were concerned. For them it had become clear that the venality of Stalin and Khrushchev and their associates was not a human accident, a human accretion on the purity of revolutionary socialism, but a metaphysically necessary development arising out of the totalitarian structure of Marxist socialism: the development of the New Class of bureaucratic exploiters identified as such by the disillusioned —and therefore imprisoned—Yugoslav Marxist, Milovan Djilas.

But the new left, the student at Wisconsin complained, not having experienced these events personally, tends to shrug them off. Indeed, a young professor at Yale University—and a professor of history no less—has said that the radical movement in America got "disoriented" by the purge trials and the Nazi-Soviet pact: and that no doubt the time has come when we can have an ideological Reformation, sweeping away the accretions of history going back to the purity of the earlier vision, even as Luther and his successors set out to do for Christianity in the sixteenth century.

New Left Sees No Evil

The see-no-evil, remember-no-evil attitude has made possible a significant recrudescence in radical left activity. The Progressive Labor Movement, which by the way recently declared itself to be an official political party, is the hardest-core organization of the lot. It specializes in infiltrating other leftist groups and orienting them toward a total intransigence, towards violence; towards Peking. A recent defector from PLM has disclosed that PLM secretly controls the Student Committee for Travel to Cuba, a pro-Castro operation, and the May 2 Movement (a pro-Vietcong operation); and has infiltrated the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the leftward most of the civil rights groups (if you don't count the Black Muslims, which are *sui generis*), and the W.E.D. DuBois Clubs, which are the principal campus operation of the American CP.

The radical left hopes to use the civil rights movement ("existential radicalism," the Yale professor calls it) as the domino that will tumble all the others and cause a radical transformation of America. "The time is right for the emergence of a new left," says youth leader James Weinstein, editor of Chicago's "Study On The Left." "I am hopeful that it may grow out of the civil rights movement." It has been obvious for a long time that their elders, the most prominent spokesmen for the civil rights movement, seek not merely remedial practices or remedial legislation designed to give Negroes equal opportunities with whites: but a transformed America. "What's the point" —the SNCC people will tell you, "of getting money to pay the bill?"—ergo: give us not only the civil rights bill but socialism too (as though socialism ever, anywhere, paid the restaurant bills of the poor). And Martin Luther King two weeks ago managed to contrive a relationship between his own foreign policy (pacifist-neutralist) and the same old eating place: "One cannot be just concerned with civil rights. What good does it do me to integrate a lunch counter if the milk I drink there is loaded with Strontium 90?"

Dr. King would resent the complementary observation: "What good would it do to bring freedom to the Negro, if in the process we lose freedom for everybody?" Or, "what will it avail the Negro to win the right to eat at a lunch counter if simultaneously we lose the struggle against Communism, and plummet the Negro down to the level of wretchedness of the average Chinese or Russian?"

Leftists to Coventry?

What to do about student radicalism. Their problem is psycho-pathological, resulting from that great ruthlessness that the sociologists have labeled "anomie," *i.e.*, the absence of norms. In the last analysis the radical leftists will be influenced primarily by the attitude towards them of members of their own age group. By other students who exhibit patience, intellectual agility, and the incorruptible moral health sufficient to isolate the young left radical, even as their fellow degenerates, the little cluster of young Nazis surrounding George Lincoln Rockwell, have been effectively isolated.

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The Third World War

How Serious Is The President?

JAMES BURNHAM

During two recent trips to Washington I saw a number of fairly knowledgeable persons—Right and Left, hawks, doves and sparrows—both in and out of government. The question of the President's intention in Vietnam came up in every conversation but no one I talked to—though several had most clearances in the book, and others were bright enough not to need clearances—seemed at all sure of an answer.

Burnham

My impressions, not so much of the explicit opinions as of the implications of the supporting evidence and arguments, might, however, be summed up on net as follows. The President is not seeking to regain the global strategic initiative. He has not embarked on the preliminary, transitional phase of what he intends to be an advance. Nor has he decided to draw a basic defensive line in South Vietnam. He is, rather, conducting a rearguard skirmish to cover a withdrawal. He will settle for almost any formula that will save American face.

This interpretation has the notable merit of being accord with what the President has said in public since the day of the first air strike (Feb. 7). He has repeatedly insisted that he does not seek "to enlarge the war." He has not indicated any hostile intent toward North Vietnam or Communist China. He has not demanded the defeat or liquidation of the National Liberation Front or the Vietcong, nor excluded a South Vietnamese government including or even dominated by the Communists; only that "external aggression" shall cease. He has not declared a general U.S. objective of blocking the advance of Communism into Southeast Asia and the South Seas, unless this advance takes the form of unambiguous aggression from without (though Secretary McNamara suggested such a general objective in phrases used on one occasion). The President has stated simultaneously that "no power on earth can force us out of South Vietnam" and that he is ready for "unconditional negotiations." This would seem to be equivalent to: "We will not be pushed out, but we are willing to leave if asked politely."

Moreover, this interpretation is consistent with the form of U.S. military operations up to the present. The President—who is reported to be acting as his own field commander—has presented the military mission in carefully limited terms. The air strikes above the 17th parallel, as the President defines their objective, aim not to defeat or even, essentially, to injure North Vietnam, but only to inhibit support from reaching the Vietcong. The U.S. troops are not intervening in South Vietnam's internal affairs or even in the fighting insofar as it is truly a civil war; they are helping a friendly government to resist an external aggressor.

Answer to a Puzzle

This interpretation, finally, gives the readiest explanation of some puzzling domestic repercussions of the post-February events. If the President were really decided on a hard course, breaking with past policy, it would be unlikely that so many prominent leaders of his own party would be advocating a soft course; and if they were, there would be more bitterness between the President and them. It is probable that most of them sense that the President is not firmly committed, and that therefore it is not necessary to close ranks as in a serious war situation. This would also explain why there has been such a notable lack of *organized* public support of a hard policy by prominent persons who have spoken firmly as individuals: no one feels sure just how the wind will be blowing tomorrow.

I am merely examining an hypothesis here, and I omit a number of factors weighing against it. But whatever the truth about the President's intention, it must be added that this intention is not the sole determinant of what is going to happen. The President is less the master of events that he perhaps fancies himself. Large-scale forces have been set in motion during the past four months, and these have an inertia of their own. Already there is an obvious and widening gap between what is happening in the field and the words the President uses to describe what is happening. In a TV interview the other day on his return from Vietnam, Marine Chief of Staff General Wallace Green repeated dutifully the definition of the Marines' mission as "passive defense of the Danang base," but he ended with the remark that he had told his men: "You can't defend anything by sitting on your ditty bag, so go out and find the Vietcong and kill them."

Shadow of the Pigs

The doves are correct in saying that the air strikes north have failed. They were intended to convince North Vietnam, Peking and Moscow that the U.S. is serious, and thereby to cause them to a) shut off support to the Vietcong, and b) come to the negotiating table on a mutually acceptable basis. The Communists have not been convinced, and it now seems clear that North Vietnam can absorb the present sort of strictly limited damage without feeling badly hurt.

So what is the President to do? His freedom of present choice is constrained by past choices. Since he did not pull out six months or a year ago, how can he just pull out now, when we are in much deeper? And he can't just continue as is. The first escalated phase is finished; going on with the same sort of operations within the same policy framework will get nowhere. So Mr. Johnson will either have to enlarge the scope, of policy as well as action, or scuttle à la Bay of Pigs. That seems to be one of his predecessor's acts that he is not disposed to take as model.

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We Beat the Educationists

South Burlington, Vermont. Population, 7,000. Average income: under $6,500 per family. Problem: extravagance on the part of the local School Board.

ALFRED CISMARU

The fight began early in January 1963, casually in the course of a conversation over taxes. One woman suggested to my wife, "Why don't we form a Committee to Keep Taxes Down and name you chairman?," turning to my wife.

"Sure," said my wife. "So we form a committee, so we try and keep taxes down. But how? What do we do?"

You have to know my wife. On election day she'd vote only if reminded to, and on the way to the polling place she'd ask who the candidates were and what issues deserved an affirmative or a negative vote. This time, however, she couldn't help acting because suggestions poured in from neighbors close and distant, from acquaintances, friends and even people we had never met.

There is only one daily in the greater Burlington area: the *Free Press*. My wife wrote a letter complaining about the built-in extravagances of our recent $2,000,000 high school. She pointed to the multi-colored ceramic tile exterior (considerably more expensive than and not nearly as durable as good brick), the thick marble partitions between toilets in the washrooms, the male, female and male-female faculty lounges, the elaborate gymnasium and the luxurious Home Economics Department replete with the most expensive models of washing machines, electric dryers, sewing machines and electric typewriters.

The Knee-Jerk Protesters

The letter made the unusual point that our children do *not* deserve the best, but only what is reasonably within our means; that our school district already boasted the most liberal teachers' salary schedule in Vermont, and that our school superintendent earned more than the governor of the state.

On January 14 and 25 the *Free Press* ran editorials branding my wife's remarks "dangerous and irresponsible." The letters column was flooded with letters of protest from angered mothers. Emotions ran high. The Committee to Keep Taxes Down was called short-sighted, avaricious, un-American. The protests seemed to be based on the premise that our children do deserve the best, mass bankruptcy notwithstanding.

My wife carried on. She answered as many of the accusing letters as she possibly could, avoiding name-calling. She pointed to facts and figures available to all taxpayers at the Town Clerk's office. Many parents were thus beguiled into touring the high school and brought to the realization that the frills they could not afford in their own homes were here displayed.

The Committee grew from 35 to 65 members. Most of these were mothers of pre-schoolers, a few had children in school, still others had grandchildren who were going to be affected by the outcome of the battle between the School Board and the Committee to Keep Taxes Down.

Two of the three local radio stations interviewed my wife, and on February 8 she made an appearance on WCAX, our only TV station. She explained the *raison d'être* of the Committee and its intention to oppose the $600,000 bond issue the School Board was now proposing in order to build a new twelve-room elementary school. The Committee felt the new school could be built more economically.

The projected school was really something. Moving walls, a complete bathroom for each class, outside walks instead of interior corridors (winters in northern Vermont are particularly cold, with many days of sub-zero temperatures), separate outside entrances to each class, the most expensive appliances and lighting fixtures available on the market, more marble and ceramic tile, and numberless other frills which would considerably have increased property taxes and placed a burden not only on present voters but also on our children who, when grown up, would have had to continue paying off the twenty-year bonds we would have issued without their consent.

Anti-Frill=Anti-Children?

The School Board, unused to this kind of impertinence, did not stand still. Board members organized *coffee hours* during which they attempted to defend their proposals. They wrote letters to the *Free Press* denouncing our "anti-education" stand, intimated that expensive or not, if the schools were not approved and built now they would have to resort to split-sessions, and even threatened that the parents who were against the proposed plans would be the first whose children would be grouped into these split-sessions.

Life on the block became difficult for our entire family. Neighbors, amicable under other circumstances, now turned their heads and ignored us when we passed by. Children of families opposed to the Committee were not allowed to play with our children.

But these were only the minor irritants. We began receiving calls in the middle of the night. The caller would hang up when we'd answer. Sometimes she or he would swear at us, utter a threat or two often involving our children, then hang up. Abusive unsigned letters began pouring through the mail at the rate of six or seven a day. Even close friends warned that the Committee was looking for trouble and should expect to get it.

It came soon enough. An official of

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the college where I am an associate professor of French and chairman of the language department, suggested in a friendly manner that while the administration viewed encouragingly the involvement of teachers and their families in local affairs, the South Burlington school fight could easily deteriorate and perhaps harm the college's building-fund campaign.

I took the *hint,* and discussed the implications with my wife. We are not independently wealthy, and loss of my job would have imposed terrible hardships on my family. A teacher needs good letters of recommendation. Animosity on the part of the school's administration could be translated into mediocre references which, in turn, would make job-hunting more difficult.

My wife felt that the fight had to be carried on. She had a definite responsibility to the Committee members. Besides, it was too late to withdraw. But she decided to take a less public part in it. She stopped writing the *Free Press* and made no more public appearances. Some members understandably interpreted my wife's apparent waning enthusiasm as belated cowardice and refused to have anything further to do with the Committee. We began to feel the futility of it all and the obvious wisdom of the saying: "You can't fight City Hall."

At which point, totally unexpectedly, things began looking up. People from different parts of town started to write us, giving us their moral support. They didn't want to be quoted, they would write apologetically, but they did intend to vote against the Board's request for a bond issue for the new school.

Bond Issue Voted Down

One day a prominent businessman called. He told us that the discontent was so widespread that both the Democratic and the Republican parties would support him in the coming election for the post of School Board Chairman. This was a first for South Burlington. Never before in its history had a School Board chairman running for election or re-election been opposed.

The campaign was hard-fought. Every evening, for two weeks prior to the election, we made dozens of telephone calls, explaining our views. We pointed out various frills and other expensive practices by our present School Board. The usual rejoinder was that it was hard to blame men who, after all, held a *thankless, unpaid job.* But much of what we had been trying to do obviously did sink in. Our candidate beat the incumbent and the bond request for the new school was turned down by a vote of 1,301 to 877, a considerable margin for a town our size. Never before had any request of the School Board been turned down.

I cannot end this without an attempt to forestall any possible misunderstanding. We are not against education; we are against the frills which so often accompany it. Moreover, we hold that public bankruptcy is too high a price to pay for luxury; for when the latter becomes the sole or major source of student motivation, education itself cannot help but deteriorate.

Since then the new Board has reviewed the plans for an elementary school, eliminated the frills and made changes which resulted in savings of about $180,000 to the voters. The new plans were presented and approved at the March 3, 1964 Town Meeting. The school opened last September.

The Search for the *Stich*

How Fares the Lyndon Image?

VICTOR GOLD

"But Mr. Johnson is preoccupied with his less-than-ecstatic public image. Shortly after his election last Nov. 3 by one of the greatest landslides in American history, Mr. Johnson asked old friends in New York City to recommend a public relations firm to help improve that image. . . ."

Columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

Consensus, Unlimited
Public Relations Counselors
New York City

Mr. George E. Reedy
Press Secretary
White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear George:

How tacks the ship o' state: port or starboard? Thanks to good offices of old friends, our crew here at Consensus is signed aboard and ready with a wind-reading—for openers, that overdue depth run on Greatness as a crowd-grabber. Now, to begin, George, you've no doubt heard about my own vague visceral queasiness over this one. Conceded (I told the client), leadership-wise, John Q. is browsing your shelves—but what's to show he's checking out the merchandise? Are we really ringing up those record sales in the Greatness Dept.? Or, in the blunt vernacular of the

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Avenue: *How fares the Lyndon Image?*

Going, as always, for the honest audit, Consensus booked a sampling of 1,000 cross-section types (give or take a specimen) in twenty-five key areas, throwing in the Pedernales Valley as a floating variable. Our early returns:

Query: If the Judgment of History were held today, how would you rate Lyndon B. Johnson's performance?

Great	83%
Near-Great	10%
Not-So-Great (Revisionists, Extreme Rightists)	5%
Undecided (School Drop-outs, Members of Monastic Orders)	2%

So far, so great? *But*—it was when we went to the question of how "Great Society" weighs in as a major chapter heading—alongside such established old grabbers as "Square Deal," "New Deal," "New Frontier"—that there appeared the cloud, no bigger than a handout. Understand, in this phase of the survey, to tell a bark from a wag we split the subject matter into respective adjectival *(Great, Square, New, Big)* and nominal components *(Society, Deal, Frontier, Brother),* again salting in a couple of variables for statistical backstop. Interview specimens were asked to check off their all-time favorites.

Well, George—quite frankly—there were those hands here at the shop who anticipated a kind of motivational *breakthrough* on this one, something lasting, you know, of a rank with G. Mennen Williams' early work into the subliminal impact of green polka dot ties on lower-middle-income suburbanites; so you can well imagine the blue funk in these parts when routine post-interview interviews uncovered a spontaneous, *unscheduled* variable distorting final returns, *i.e.,* the subconscious assumption by over 60 per cent of those answering the questionnaire that they were either competing or applying for some kind of *prize, fringe benefit* or *giveaway!*

Go figure people.

Still, rough guide though it be to uncharted jungles of political imagery, the client will be glad to know that his *GS* ran fairly well for a late starter—despite evidence that *none* of the old field-tested models measures up to the median pull of an untested nouveau: "*Big* (86 per cent) *Deal* (97 per cent)." All variables considered, my instinctive move on this finding was a classic set-shot, into a near wastebasket. But cooler statistical heads prevailed. We send it along then with the thought that, who knows? Come '68 the client just might run it up the South Lawn flagpole, to see if Eric Goldman steps out and salutes.

Next on the assignment sheet, we were to develop some "distinctive mark which everyone learns to recognize" (as Churchill called it, citing, for example, Disraeli's forelock)—a humanizing *prop, gimmick* or *comment dit-on?—stich,* on the order of

TR's *elephant gun,* FDR's *dog,* HST's *sport shirt,* JFK's *rocking chair:* a secondary target, the butt of innocuous household jests; some *thing* that Mr. and Mrs. Jess Plainfolks of Woodbine, Iowa, might chuckle or mildly flip over during periodic flights from reality (releasing, as it were, latent aggressions against the client's Indulgent Father Image). Yet the gimmick must fit the man and his style, since, I think we can all agree, what might be a beautiful *stich* for the likes of Benjamin Disraeli runs a fair chance of being a conventional *bomb* for you-know-who. This uppermost in mind, I went on record with a rather strong viscerejection of 1) the *broadbrimmed Stetson,* a prop considerably fuzzed in the public mind by last year's Wild West competition at the polls, and 2) *dogs.*

But if not these old standbys, what then? Running a late-night office contest we went through the catalogue, *a* to *u: aardvark* (put it on the 6 P.M. shuttle, but they won't *let* it off at Washington National) to *umbrella* (be reassured, the kid who threw *this* one into the hat was pulled off the account). Then, in the small hours, it came to us, appeared, right there under the client's patrician nose: bigger than that there *elephant gun,* warmer than that there *dog,* louder than that there *sport shirt,* homier than that there *rocking chair,* crying out for utility. But what else? the *Vice President!*

Project, if you will, George—now hear it out—project a revival of last season's forlorn elephant joke, updated, *e.g.: What did Lyndon say when he saw Hubert coming over from the Hill? ("Here come Whatzizname over from the Hill. . . .").* Or—keep in mind, these are only pilots—*What did Lyndon say when he saw Hubert coming over from the Hill wearing dark glasses? ("Nothing, he didn't recognize him. . . .").* But do you read the possibilities, George? Polished, perfected, ballooned through Buchwald, trial-run at American University—then launched into national orbit by, say, Carol Channing on the Johnny Carson show—enormous, *positively enormous!*

And finally, to wrap up this first report, we've gone to the mat with the client's sadly disjasked relations *vis-à-vis* the grumbling White House press corps. A toughie here, fitting style to format—but thanks to an exhaustive study of comparative Presidential techniques we've emerged, I believe, dripping from our think tank with what *has* to be the all-time, all-purpose grip on the problem, namely: the *turn-about* press conference, whereby every Sunday the client meets on live television with Larry Spivak and Mae Craig—*he* to quiz *them* on the week's reportage of issues and events. Now here, George, if ever you'll see it, is *the real Lyndon we know and love!* Agreed? Well, then, man, what're we a-waitin' on? Don't just *stand* there in the West Wing: let's quick cut it loose in the Oval Room to find out whether we can turn the corner with

"MEET THE PREZ"

Consensically yours, *etc.*

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APPEASEMENT

Mao applauds his allies—the appeasers

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—ALLY OF RED CHINA

He has good reason to applaud—

—the beatniks who picket the White House for "kicks."

—the professors who call on their students to repeat the fallacies of the past in order to win "peace" for the Communist aggressors today.

—the columnists and commentators who preach defeatism and retreat in the same way as they did more than 25 years ago before the Axis "wave of the future."

—the politicians who are prepared to trade their nation's honor and integrity for the sake of temporary expediency.

—the ignorant and unthinking Americans who cower before Communist bluster and blandishments and call for "peace" on Communist terms.

APPEASEMENT—ALLY OF RED CHINA

Can we allow the virus of appeasement to infect our national will at the very time that young Americans are dying in Vietnam—dying in the fight against a Communist enemy that has vowed to destroy us and has every intention of keeping that vow? We know well the bitter harvest brought about by appeasement of the aggressors before World War II. Tens of millions lost their lives because free men were unwilling to stop the aggressors before it was too late. Will it happen again? Will the work of today's appeasers cause more millions to die tomorrow?

USE THIS FORM NOW to order your copy of this vital film. MAIL IT TODAY!

YOU hold the answer!

The only way to block the growing forces of appeasement in the United States is to drive home the lesson of the past—to show with unforgettable clarity the tragic consequences of our failure to oppose Mussolini, Hitler and Stalin *in time*. It is true that the forces of appeasement today are stronger than ever before—but they *can* be defeated! And the weapon to do the job is now available in the startling new film. Appeasement—Ally of Red China.

This 28 minute 16mm black and white sound documentary film was produced for the Committee of One Million (Against the Admission of Communist China to the United Nations). It is a dramatic record of the history of appeasement from World War I to the present. It gives you the *facts* and provides an effective answer to those who would have us surrender *other* people's freedom in a vain effort to avoid a struggle that their very actions make inevitable. Through some of the most dramatic film footage ever shown—and in the actual words and voices of the famous and infamous of the last 45 years—Appeasement—Ally of Red China—presents the case against appeasement. Hear the historic words of Emperor Haile Selassie; Sir Winston Churchill; Mme. Chiang Kai-shek; Tibet's Dalai Lama; General Douglas A. MacArthur; Senator Thomas J. Dodd and many others. Watch the march of the aggressors. See the scenes of free men fighting for their liberty. It is all there. The whole story.

We need your help to make sure that this film is seen in every community in the United States—in the schools and churches, before your organization or group. It is available **now**. Buy it! Show it! Utilize this weapon to help prevent World War III. Use the coupon to order your copy of this vital film at $125 per print.

Communications Distribution, Inc.
150 East 35th Street
Room 330
New York, New York 10016

Gentlemen:

Please send me_____ print(s) of the 28-minute, 16mm sound documentary film "Appeasement — Ally of Red China" at $125 each. If I find the film unsatisfactory, I understand I have the option of returning it within five days and will receive a full refund of the purchase price minus $5 for handling.

Enclosed is my check for $_____.

Name (Please Print)

Address

City State Zip

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Letter from London

No Road Back

ANTHONY LEJEUNE

Professor Hayek was in London recently, and very gloomy his observations were. For the first time, he said, he felt really alarmed about Britain's future. What worried him was not so much the Labor Government's childlike faith in an illusory "income policy," but the universal acceptance of the conditions—union rigidity and continued inflation—which make an income policy seem necessary. If these conditions were taken for granted, and treated as natural and inevitable, there could be no chance of economic recovery, only a long steady decline. His gloom was not surprising. The British scene is extremely gloomy at the moment.

I asked Professor Hayek if he thought that America, though some way behind Britain, was headed down the same road. Yes indeed, he said; but the Americans were more volatile and self-critical, and might suddenly see the danger and turn back.

Allow me, therefore, the traveler ahead of you, to shout across the Atlantic "Go back! Go back! We're caught in a quicksand. Don't join us." In plainer terms my warning is this: socialism, welfarism, collectivism, whatever you like to call it, is a cumulative, accelerating process. The further you go, the harder it becomes to stop: and there is a point of no return, which in Britain we may already have passed.

The reasons are not merely, perhaps not mainly, ideological but are a function of practical politics. Consider them as seen here.

Pace Accelerates

One aspect concerns the politicians and the contest between parties. The parties bid against each other in the same coinage; every bid must out-top the last, the pace increases and, amid the excitement of the contest, no one stops to ask if the coinage is sound. The principal coinage in British elections ever since the war has been welfare benefits and the fruits of government spending. All three parties have joined, unrestrainedly, in the bidding. When, during the 1959 election, the Socialists accused the Conservatives of wanting to dismantle the Welfare State, the Conservatives indignantly denied the dreadful charge and boasted that they were spending much more money on welfarism than the Labor Government had. This was true; next time, the Conservatives promised to spend yet more, and the Socialists more still. This auction is not simply a matter of competitive bidding between opponents. Each party is also bidding against itself, against its own past record.

The other aspect of this process concerns the voters directly. They will be brainwashed by sheer lack of choice, until they no longer realize there could be another sort of coinage. And some of them will need no brainwashing, for they will be making a genuine personal profit out of the Welfare State. The Central Statistical Office has shown that any British family with two children and an income around, or even slightly above, the national average makes a net profit when all the welfare benefits in cash and kind have been balanced against all taxes paid, including estimates of indirect taxation such as the duty on alcohol and tobacco. Such a family, therefore, makes no contribution at all to the defense of the country, to the provision of police and fire services, to the cost of administration; these civic burdens fall entirely on others.

These others, the traditional middle classes and people who work hard enough and show enough initiative to move out ahead of the crowd, the ones who would be expected to vote against welfarism, are being progressively impoverished and rendered less capable of looking after themselves. High taxation prevents them from saving: the policies of "social justice" erode their capital: inflation pushes up the cost of private education, of private doctoring, of mere survival in old age. Gradually, reluctantly, these people too are compelled to seek, and rely on, welfare benefits. There is no contracting out of the Welfare State or the Great Society.

The citizens of a comprehensive Welfare State become materially, as well as psychologically, dependent on the government. The more help they need or demand from the government, the more money the government has to take in, in order to help them. They will end, perhaps, by having and needing only pocket money of their own; and in no sense can a man who has only pocket money be called free.

Parents Crushed by Taxes

Serious losses of freedom appear, however (and have appeared in Britain) long before that stage is reached. The universities, for instance, face steadily rising costs. At the same time, parents, crushed by taxation, are less able to pay university fees. So the kindly government, which was largely responsible for the inflation and wholly responsible for the taxes, steps in and gives grants of money both to the university and to the students. But the next thing we hear is that, because the government has contributed so much to the university, the government should decide the university's shape and size and what subjects should be taught, and what students admitted: and that the students, having received benefits from the State, owe the State a special obligation in return. And so the trap snaps shut.

Each step along this road not only makes the next one seem easier and more natural, but makes it harder to stop, let alone turn back.

I'm not, in fact, as depressed as Professor Hayek. Here and there, not in orthodox political circles but in newspapers and universities and among businessmen, I detect the first faint stirring of doubt, a tendency to examine the coinage of welfarism more closely, to bite it, to ring it skeptically on the counter. But such skepticism is admittedly still very rare. Professor Hayek may be right. The auction may have gone too far, collectivist assumptions may be too deeply entrenched, the process may be irreversible.

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How to Railroad a School Bill

An analysis of the new federal school aid bill: why and how it was passed and who will benefit most from it. The federal bureaucracy, says the author

ROGER A. FREEMAN

Where several of his predecessors suffered defeat after defeat, Lyndon B. Johnson succeeded on the first try: federal aid to the public schools, which had been urged upon Congress by Capitol Hill's most persistent lobby since 1870, came into being in April, 1965, when House and Senate bowed to the President's wishes and, with much misgiving, voted his program into law.

This, of course, does not end the century-old campaign for federal aid to education. The new law's $1.3 billion is a mere pittance in the public schools' annual $23 billion budget which is likely to exceed $30 billion within a few years. LBJ proclaimed upon the bill's passage that "this is just the beginning," and the school administrators' journal thereupon announced the new goal:

"The Federal Government should assume *primary* responsibility for providing public school revenues, with local and state sources providing *supplementary* and categorical aid." (Emphasis supplied). So the scene is all set for the next phase in the drive to nationalize education in the United States.

That Johnson triumphed in the House 263 to 153 where Kennedy failed 160 to 242 less than four years ago is of course partly due to a general shift to the left in the composition of Congress. But above all it goes to show how much more power has accumulated in the Presidency in the hands of an operator who knows better than anyone else how to use it to get his will done. As one congressman said: "Jack Kennedy used to twist your arm, but this guy just breaks it."

On several occasions over the past sixteen months reluctant or recalcitrant members found themselves threatened with the cancelation of projects, withdrawal of patronage, denial of most of the multitude of benefits which naturally accrue to an office holder of the President's party. Time and again, legislators were given the alternative of doing LBJ's bidding or being politically wiped out. Few held out for long.

During the House debate on the education bill LBJ kept in unusually close telephone contact with the Hill, to make sure that his time schedule was kept and that the school bill got safely out of the way before the voting rights bill hit the floor. A bare minimum of parliamentary procedure was observed, about three dozen amendments were summarily rejected, and the proponents usually were not even permitted to explain them. Even supporters of the bill expressed qualms over what they called "a determined effort to silence those who are in disagreement," and the leader of the opposition to the bill, Representative Charles E. Goodell of New York (ranking Republican on the committee that had held the hearings), chastised the majority leadership: "The way you are proceeding, this is not going to be an education act, it will be the Railroad Act of 1965."

No Bill? No Vacation

The Senate was allowed the ritual of a three-day debate, during much of which barely a handful of senators were present unless they were voting routinely to reject over a dozen Republican amendments. LBJ issued an order to accept the House-passed bill without so much as changing a comma because the risk of sending an amended bill back to the House was too great. Senators were on notice that they would get no Easter vacation unless they adopted the bill by Friday night—so the Chief could sign it in his old school house on the Pedernales River over the weekend.

To be sure, LBJ's victory was not all muscle, it was also the result of finesse. As a superb politician who has seen hundreds of school aid bills torn to shreds, he knew exactly where the resistance lay and what the objections were, who had to be won over, and at what price. Above all, he realized that many years of poormouthing by the Office of Education and the National Education Association had not generated much steam among the general public, that the cold facts of school finance were devastating, and that past proposals had yielded little political mileage. So a new *raison d'être* had to be found with a sure-fire appeal to emotion. When the slogans that started the "war on poverty" in 1964 struck a sympathetic chord, LBJ did not have to look far for another launching pad: this was not going to be just another school aid bill but a program to help "educationally deprived" children escape the "vicious cycle of poverty." (Question: If such an escape-proof cycle were in operation, how account for the fact that most of America's 194 million residents are better educated and better off than their immigrant parents or grandparents were?)

Most of the money, more than a billion dollars, is supposed to be given to school districts with reference to the number of children in residence from families with an income under $2,000. According to its preamble, the bill aims to aid "areas with concentrations of children from low-income families." But then, instead of focusing on "poverty pockets" it distributes the funds to 95 per cent of the country's 3,072 counties. If that is "concentration," then what would a wide dispersal of the money look like?

LBJ reasoned—and correctly so—that he could best arouse the public's sympathy by making the scheme appear to be aid to the poor, winning the support of enough legislators by dealing to each a slice of the pie.

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When all is said and done, this is a general school aid plan, a successor to hundreds of similar bills in recent decades, with two additions: the "poverty" angle for sales appeal and far tighter federal control of local spending.

In his message, Mr. Johnson cited the glaring inequities which now plague our schools: "The five states with the lowest incomes spend only an average of $275 per pupil, less than half the average of the five highest income states." How does LBJ propose to rectify such rank injustice? By giving $120 per low-income child to Mississippi, $353 to New York, $140 to Alabama and $265 to California. I tried to find out from a computer by how much that is going to reduce the discrepancy between the rich and the poor. But the answer it gave me . . . that computer couldn't be right . . . why it just couldn't. . . .

Even such an enthusiastic proponent of federal aid as Representative Edith Green (D., Ore.) was critical of the bill: "Liberals talk about Mississippi and Alabama and we shed crocodile tears about how awful conditions are down there and we know how many have been educationally deprived for a long time: then when we have a chance to do something—we give New York three times what we will give them in Mississippi and Alabama."

There is of course a perfectly good reason why New York and California get more per child than Mississippi and Alabama: that's where the votes are. The fifteen wealthiest states control the House of Representatives and account for a majority of the country's voters. A legislator is no more fooled by his own oratory than by LBJ's. The congressman from New York or California figures that he isn't going to be re-elected just because he sent some of his constituents' money to Mississippi. He wants a sign "the gravy train stops here," planted next to the polling booths in his own constituency, not somebody else's. That is why the Roosevelt-Pucinski amendment was adopted: it adds another $60 million almost exclusively for the wealthier states by tossing in families with an income above $2,000—provided they get it from public assistance.

Such political arithmetic was unknown to the late Senator Robert A. Taft (whom LBJ quoted in his message). Mr. Taft proposed, in 1947, to give some school money to the low-income states and none to the rich and you should have seen how Senator Ives of New York and others jumped him! Small wonder Senator Taft never got to be President—and LBJ did.

Westchester "Poverty Pocket"

Much has changed since Senator Taft offered his school aid plan in 1947. School expenditures per pupil have increased (in *price-adjusted* dollars): in the highest income state by +37 per cent, in the lowest income state by +179 per cent, in the U.S. as a whole by +77 per cent. Back in 1947 the wealthiest state was spending 3.6 times as much as the poorest; today that ratio in the same states (which still are at the top and bottom of the income scale respectively) is 1.76:1. In other words, what Mr. Taft thought could be achieved only *with* federal aid, as many believed at the time, has since been accomplished *without* it, by state and local effort.

To be sure, spending per pupil in the poorest state still is 43 per cent

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below the national average (which is largely accounted for by cost differentials). But some feel that this situation is intolerable. In a country as rich and powerful as ours, shouldn't everyone be above the average?

The fact is that under this bill such notorious "poverty pockets" as Nassau and Westchester counties in New York (the state's wealthiest), or Marin and San Mateo counties in California (the state's wealthiest), get two to three times as much per child as the impoverished areas in Mississippi or Alabama.

Let us just take Westchester County (New York) and Sunflower County (Mississippi) which happen to have the same number of low-income children, about 6,200. According to the 1960 Census, family income in Westchester averaged $8,052; in Sunflower $1,790. Eight per cent of the families in Westchester and 68 per cent of the families in Sunflower had an income under $3,000. The federal funds the two counties will get under this bill: Westchester $2.2 million, Sunflower $745,000. Of course, a lot more people *vote* in Westchester than in Sunflower.

The bill promises to distribute federal funds according to the number of low-income children in *each school district*. But no such statistical information exists or is likely to become available until the next decennial census. Census Bureau officials confirm this.

Equalization Tab $9 Billion

There was no need to resort to such an unworkable scheme. A much fairer and more effective method of school fund equalization has been in operation for many years and could have been used for federal purposes. The states now spend $9 billion annually in school aid to equalize educational opportunities between richer and poorer communities. A school district with many children and little taxable property may get 70 or 80 per cent, or more, of its budget from the state, a wealthy one only 20 per cent. Such aid is computed by an objective formula that does not give state officials much discretion. Which is why the U.S. Office of Education did not want to use it. It wanted to exercise its own judgment of how deserving each school district is.

All suggestions to improve the formula fell on deaf ears just as conclusive evidence that no such program is needed could not penetrate closed minds. At the minority's request I was invited by the House and Senate committees to testify on the bill. But it became obvious in several hours of questioning that the majority simply was not interested in facts. It is an irony indeed that such a bill should be enacted when the school finance picture looks brighter than it has in decades.

Back in the early 1950s a tidal wave of postwar babies faced the schools with a seemingly insuperable problem. Few students of educational finance believed then that state and local governments could keep pace with the rate of the impending enrollment increase, or that they could meet the huge needs for additional classrooms and teachers. When the White House Conference on Education in 1955 recommended that school funds be doubled within ten years, many of its participants took it for granted that the goal could not possibly be reached without a massive injection of federal aid. As it turned out, school support doubled in the succeeding seven years, without federal aid. Over the past ten years—while pupil enrollment grew 43 per cent — current school revenues jumped 156 per cent, from $8.5 billion to $21.8 billion; at least 95 per cent of the $13.3 billion increase came from state and local sources.

As a percentage of the national income, public school expenditures climbed from 1.4 per cent twenty years ago to 4.5 per cent in 1964. Expenditures for all education (higher and lower, public and private) meanwhile rose from 2.1 per cent of national income to 7.0 per cent. The record of school support in the postwar period stands as a magnificent testimony to the working of free local government in the United States.

The period of rapid enrollment growth in the schools is now over: the postwar babies are graduating, the birthrate has been falling for seven years and the rate of enrollment growth will drop from 43 per cent in the past ten years to 15 per cent in the next ten. The schools should find it easy to cope with an average annual enrollment rise of 1.5 per cent while national income and product expand at about 4 per cent.

For many years the proponents of federal aid claimed that state and local governments were unable adequately to support the schools because they were hamstrung by antiquated constitutional and statutory tax and bond restrictions and their tax receipts were rising sluggishly—in contrast to federal revenues which grow rapidly with the expanding economy.

State Revenues Top Federal

That was a good story, until it became increasingly evident that the facts are to the contrary: state and local tax revenues and borrowing are increasing several times faster than federal. So now the argument is being turned around. The Office of Education wrote in a *Fact Sheet* appended to the 1965 bill: "Since 1946 state and local bonded indebtedness has risen approximately 450 per cent while federal debt has increased approximately 14 per cent. During the same period, state and local taxes have increased approximately 340 per cent, while federal taxes increased approximately 140 per cent —before the 1964 federal tax cut. Quality education requires increased federal aid."

That brings the case in focus. Federal aid is needed because state and local tax revenues and debt capacity:

a) rise too slowly—and do not expand as fast as federal taxes and debt; and

b) rise too fast—and expand more rapidly than federal taxes and debt.

Facts being twisted to fit predetermined ends.

In no area did LBJ display more consummate strategic skill than in his handling of the church-and-state question on whose rocks many a school aid plan has foundered in years past. Some members of Congress would not vote for a bill granting benefits to nonpublic schools, most of which are church-connected, and others turned thumbs down on proposals which left private school children out. This had long been an insuperable roadblock, but it was not to LBJ. He succeeded in persuading public school groups that private schools would get no aid and in making spokesmen for private schools believe that they would. Hours of explanations, corrections, assertions and

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retractions during the floor debates disclosed that nobody really knows what the new law will or will not do because it leaves the federal administrator free to set the rules for each community which applies for federal funds.

The fact is that the nonpublic schools get token recognition but very little in material terms, aside from such things as the right of their pupils to participate in certain selected public school activities or the use of some textbooks and other books. Convinced that the bill would pass anyway, the staff of the NCWC, representing the Catholic schools (which enroll 90 per cent of all nonpublic school children), decided to regard the bill as a moral victory rather than a refusal of their claim for equal treatment of all children. Such *pro forma* recognition, they hoped, would keep the door open for more tangible aid in the future. As it is, the bill leaves the private schools in a poorer position relative to the public schools.

Is the main purpose of the bill to aid the public schools financially? That could have been accomplished by simpler methods. Plans to return a share of federal tax collections to the states to be spent for education or to establish a system of general subvention of state and local governments through unconditional grants have been around for several years but made no headway—even when they were advanced by the chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, Walter Heller, in the summer of 1964. Opposition by the federal departments and by special interest groups is based on a simple fact: such plans would give state and local governments authority over the funds, not Washington.

I suggested to the congressional committee another method of easing the financial pressure on public and private schools and local taxpayers: federal income tax credits for school property taxes and tuitions. Support for the sliding tax credit schedule for tuitions and gifts to colleges at one time ranged over the political spectrum, from Senator Goldwater to Senator Humphrey; it failed in the Senate 45-48 on February 4, 1964 when LBJ turned against it. It is now being sponsored by seventeen Democratic and seventeen Republican senators, led by Senators Ribicoff and Dominick, and promoted by a newly formed *Citizens National Committee for Higher Education,* headed by several well known college and university presidents and businessmen.

School tax credits would grant relief to the homeowner, who could deduct all or part of his school property taxes from his federal income tax (not the *tax base,* from the *tax liability* itself) and give comparable benefits to the renter. All taxpayers would be treated alike, whether their children attend public or private schools. Above all, this would enable the national government to assist in the financing of public and private schools *indirectly* without raising the controversial issues of federal control or separation of church and state.

Tax credits for school property taxes and college tuitions form the core of the Educational Incentives Act of 1965 which was offered by Representatives Ayres, Goodell, Curtis, Griffin and Quie as a Republican alternative to LBJ's school aid plan. It is opposed by the Administration.

The true purpose of the new program is not to supply more money to the schools but to give the Office of Education a decisive voice in the shaping of the curriculum. It aims to implement in the schools a sociological theory which many boards of education are unwilling to accept; that nobody is responsible for himself, his family or his actions and that all failure is to be blamed on environment and deficiencies in our society.

"Deprived" Undefined

The law talks about "educationally deprived" children, a term it nowhere defines and which is of such recent coinage that it is not even mentioned in the latest (1960) edition of the *Encyclopedia of Educational Research.* Such fuzzy euphemisms as "deprived" or "disadvantaged" serve mainly to create a distorted picture of the nature of the problem and to avoid mentioning solutions which may not be as popular in some circles as spending additional billions of dollars.

To be sure, our educational system suffers from severe defects which are particularly painful at both ends of the ability scale. When they graduate from high school, our gifted children are two or more years behind their contemporaries in West European and Russian schools. At the same time many children of lower natural endowment seem unable to find or hold even simple low-skill jobs when they leave school.

If a federal program such as the one enacted in the new school bill could raise children who lag in educational achievement to significantly higher levels, say of high school graduation, and enable them to succeed in substantially better paid occupations, one or several billion dollars annually would be a cheap price.

But the plans so far announced to implement the new law do not suggest that their authors even understand the nature of the problem. They largely duplicate and triplicate activities authorized in the past two or three years under the Manpower Training and Development Act, Vocational Education Act, and Economic Opportunity Act. In their eagerness to expand their empires and compete with each other for the same clientele, the new bureaus are setting a prime example of violent non-coordination. From the extent of overlapping and multiplication we may conclude that the originators are quite unsure of their methods but hope that if enough billions are spent and enough new offices created, at least one of the programs may produce results they can boast about.

At their annual convention in April 1965, the nation's Boards of Education, which had long been strong opponents to federal aid, found themselves faced with a *fait accompli.* In a spirit of resignation the board members "bowed to the inevitable," as an Associated Press report well described it. They knew full well that henceforth they would be taking orders from Washington.

As the amounts of federal funds increase in years to come, state and local boards of education will be less and less able to resist the dictates of the central bureaucracy. Unless, of course, American parents rise and demand their schools back. But the hour is late and the prospects of success diminish as we move rapidly toward a nationalized system of education.

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From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

Politically Ignorant College Students

Are many American college students influenced by a recrudescent Communist movement on the campus? Not really. Of course the Communists are trying very hard, and took advantage of vague discontents on the Berkeley campus of the University of California to pose as champions of freedom—quite as they had embroiled Berkeley students in rioting against the House Committee on Un-American Activities, a few years ago.

Kirk

The Federal Bureau of Investigation and other sources, for more than a year, have predicted an energetic renewal of the Communists' endeavor to find lodging again on the campus. This drive, commencing more than three years ago with a stimulated demand, under the guise of "free speech," to bring Communists to colleges as guest speakers, now is in full force.

Some college presidents, of course, have reason to take prompt action against this Communist agitation and propaganda. One such is Dr. Harry Gideonse, the remarkably able and strong head of Brooklyn College. For the City Colleges of New York once were a chief stronghold of Communist academic influence, and President Gideonse, some fifteen years ago and even later, had trouble rooting the Communists out. He does not mean to let these unpleasant ideologues afflict his college again. Against his wishes, a chapter of the DuBois Clubs of America, identified by the FBI as a Communist-controlled organization, has appeared on the Brooklyn campus. So Dr. Gideonse does well to defend true academic freedom against the enemies of the free academy, by promptly exposing this movement. The great majority of American students will remain immune to the Communist effort, but a minority may harm themselves, and their universities and colleges, by flirting with the God that Failed.

Some part of the muddy radicalism among this minority is the sign of personal neurosis—a phenomenon increasing on the mass campus, ever since the Second World War—which, in frustrated young people, may assume ideological form. But also some of this shallow hankering after totalist ideology is the product of sheer, well-intentioned political ignorance.

As I wander from campus to campus, I find that a great many students simply have no understanding of Communist purposes and tactics in the academy. Lacking personal experience or knowledge of academic controversies of the past generation, they have no notion of how insufferable the Communist is, as professor or student. Far from contributing a "full and free discussion" of everything under the sun, the earnest Communist works at stifling opposition, interrupting the educational process, and reducing discussion to sloganizing and riot inciting.

Communism Dehumanizes

As Dr. Sidney Hook pointed out, a dozen years ago, in his *Heresy Yes, Conspiracy No*, the Communist professor cannot be tolerated upon the campus precisely because he will not tolerate his colleagues. By slander, intrigue, and complex nastiness, the Communist instructor tries to drive from the academy all who oppose him, and to fill key posts with his fellow conspirators. Neither a democratic socialist like Professor Hook, nor any persuasion short of Communism, can exist amicably side by side with Communist "colleagues."

Where naive students are in question, the Communist endeavor is to sour their tempers, petrify their minds, and involve their bodies in various dangers, for the advancement of Communist tyranny. A Pittsburgh rabbi recently said of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (which, as he mentioned, is a revolutionary cell masquerading as a "civil rights" front) that "they wanted dead bodies—our bodies" at Selma. Precisely so, the Communists on the campus often deliberately ruin the prospects of their student dupes for the sake of disrupting the academy. This should be common knowledge; but today's students, and the younger instructors, are unwary.

Ever since his freshman days of 1936-37 this writer has watched the Communists' endeavor to attract American students. Any student enlisted by them must come to regret his simplicity—unless he is totally absorbed into the Communist apparatus, and so in a sense dehumanized. It is for the students' sake that intelligent and conscientious college presidents take measures to discourage Communist recruitment.

And yet part of the blame for what successes the Communists have enjoyed on the campus must be attributed to the feebleness of the higher learning at the average educational institution. Some weeks ago, this writer touched upon the baneful effect of the mass campus, Behemoth University, in which the student seems to himself only a business-machine number, and so may be worked upon by any agitator who exploits vague resentments. Also there exists another aspect of our colleges' feebleness.

I refer to the lack of ends or purposes in the whole program of study. The typical college has become an intellectual cafeteria or grab-bag, all coherence lost. In this climate of opinion, the undergraduate—nay, the graduate student, too—who has enrolled with the expectation of attaining to philosophy, is given only training—or, at best, sophistry.

Nature abhorring a vacuum, some sort of system inquiring students must find. And when the genuine political and historical and literary disciplines are far gone in decay, ideology tends to rush into that intellectual vacuum. If students were led toward an objective truth, almost none would fall victim to the falsity of totalist ideology.

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Africa in Perspective

ERIK VON KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN

After perusing *The African Nettle,* this reviewer, who has been several times to Africa in recent years, could not but emit a grunt of deep satisfaction. Here, at long last, is a well-balanced symposium on "Black Africa," a healthy antidote to all the monumental nonsense one constantly hears in the United States about the Dark Continent. In none of these essays does one encounter ugly racialist prejudice or blind belief in the spotless record of colonialism or unstinted praise for the present régime in the Union of South Africa; but at the same time we find no idle speculation about the possibility of free governments in Africa in the near future and no illusions whatsoever about the grave setback civilization has suffered through decolonization.

In a short review it is difficult to detail adequately the contents of this ably assembled treasure box. The contribution of the French journalist Gilbert Comte gives a very good overall picture of Africa and helps us to understand the frightening inferiority complex of its more educated inhabitants, which is the main stumbling block to an urgently necessary cooperation. All the "new nations" of Africa, he points out, are creations of the colonizers, with the tribal realities continuing under the veneer of a foreign-language civilization. With tribes at the bottom and the collective frenzy of a New Racialism at the top, the going is indeed tough.

The African Nettle: Dilemmas of an Emerging Continent, edited by Frank S. Meyer. John Day, $5.00

America, with a false slant on colonialism (1776 in a totally wrong perspective) has made matters worse. To my mind an American who is proud of his country and fiercely "anticolonialist" should get medical treatment. Without British colonialism his country would no more exist than mine (Austria) without Bavarian colonialism. Reading Mr. Nixon's dictum that the European powers bear the stigma of colonialism, whereas America, free of this taint, has a "future in Africa," one really shudders at such naiveté. The United States (next to the Union of South Africa) figures on the Dark Continent as the main oppressor of "Negroes" (who in fact, are mostly mulattoes so despised by Africans). Thus the "stigma" of the Europeans is shared by Americans, although in another form.

Professor Bauer of the London School of Economics has given us an excellent outline of the economic woes of "emerging" Africa. Economics in Africa has been made into a plaything of politics; especially, the restrictions placed on foreign capital and foreign immigration are a grave handicap to material development. Tribalism is naturally an anti-personal, collectivist force, and socialism is a self-defeating mammoth tribalism favoring backwardness. Professor Bauer, however, rightly thinks that without artificial limitations a class of African entrepreneurs would have quickly risen; the present ascendancy of "National Socialism," on the other hand, is openly hostile to such an evolution.

Mrs. Elspeth Huxley—well known to NATIONAL REVIEW readers, is forced by her intimate knowledge of Africa to give a rather skeptical view of the African future. She points out that decolonization, perhaps inevitable in the long run, was bound to decrease personal liberty . . . and "collective liberties" just do not exist.

Mr. K. A. Busia is the "Black African Who Speaks" and he asks a very pertinent question, *i.e.,* Why is the United States aiding and abetting essentially unfree, oppressive governments? He is an exile from Ghana and, at present, guest professor in Oxford. There is such a thing, he exhorts us, as the moral responsibility of the donor, not only of the recipient, of aid.

The "White African Who Speaks" (and speaks very forcibly) is Sir Roy Welensky from Southern Rhodesia. He is (like Mr. Busia) highly articulate about the failure of the

United Nations. He quotes the General Assembly Resolution on colonialism (November, 1961) which said that "inadequacy or political, economic, social or educational unpreparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence." There was not a single vote of dissent—only Great Britain, France, South Africa and Spain abstained, while the United States voted *for* the resolution. This, indeed, is an abdication of morality *and* reason. Sir Roy (who started out as a fireman on a locomotive, before he became Premier) believes not in democracy, but in timocracy (which he calls meritocracy): rule by those fit and qualified, regardless of color. It is the will of the whites in Southern Rhodesia, he says, to protect *standards,* not privi-

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Books Abroad

● DADA: Reviving interest in England and Europe in the Dada movement prompts the question, why hasn't someone written a study of the life and work of Else Baroness von Freytag-Loringhoven? Born in Germany in 1874, she arrived in New York before the First World War. She knew Marcel Duchamp, and about 1919 began writing for the *Little Review*. She returned to Germany in the early 1920s and later went to Paris, where she died in 1927. Much of her life is shrouded in mystery but what is known is anything but humdrum.

Latest Dada history, by one of the participants, which is receiving widespread attention, is Hans Richter's *Dada—Kunst und Antikunst* (Du Mont Schauberg, Cologne: DM 14.80).

● T. S. ELIOT: Cyril Connolly's long article in the *Sunday Times* of 10 January probably the most moving, competent and appropriate of the many tributes in England. Much new information of interest to all students in Herbert Howarth's *Notes on Some Figures Behind T. S. Eliot* (Chatto & Windus).

● AUSTRIAN POET: The 50th anniversary of the death of Georg Trakl, celebrated at Innsbruck last November, went practically unnoticed elsewhere. Although only 27 when he died from an overdose of drugs, in a hospital on the Eastern Front in November 1914, he left a solid body of work which places him among the best poets of the century. His work is now collected in three volumes (Otto Müller, Salzburg). Excellent introduction is *Twenty Poems of Georg Trakl*, trans. by James Wright and Robert Bly and published by the Sixties Press, Odin House, Madison, Minnesota: $2.00.

● BRITAIN & EUROPE: Kenneth Younger's *Changing Perspectives in British Foreign Policy* (Oxford, for the Royal Institute of International Affairs) focuses attention clearly once again on the idea that Britain is really a part of Europe. He argues that Britain must be prepared to become a part of Europe politically as well as economically.

● DANTE: Italy this year is celebrating the 700th anniversary of the birth of Dante. A beautifully printed new edition of the *Divina Commedia* contains plates by all the Old Masters who have tried their hand at illustrating the poem.

● BREVIORA: Margaret Lane's absorbing biography of Edgar Wallace (Hamish Hamilton) has been reprinted in a revised edition with introduction by Graham Greene, who is in the latter stages of a new novel. . . . Sir Winston Churchill reported to have made more than £1 million from his writings. . . . Tyrolean poet Martin Benedikter, who is an Orientalist at Naples University, was among speakers when Italian and other writers gathered at Venice to hear Ezra Pound read from his translations of the Confucian Odes. . . .

leges; and he insists that they will not submit to pressure from countries which more often than not have a blemished record of democratic virtue. The now flourishing democracies of Western Europe increased their electorates through the last hundred years in slow stages and this is the path Southern Rhodesia should follow.

Professor Thomas Molnar from Brooklyn College talks as an "Outside Observer." He is emphatic in pointing out that the "New Africa" will have to build on the foundations of the colonial past and that every effort to overlook this fact must meet with disaster. (What would have happened if Europeans had thrown a *cordon sanitaire* around "Black Africa"? The horrors happening there daily would be worse than the present miseries. *Quand se terminera cette terrible indépendance?* a friend of mine was recently asked in Brazzaville by a simple native.)

A wise old Britisher gives us his views about the "Complexities of South Africa." Professor Hutt holds a brief neither for Verwoerd nor for the Bantu nationalists. He has seen the deterioration of race relations in the last two generations, owing to the overpowering rule of the trade unions who were fighting the rise of skilled native labor, on the one side, and the "capitalists," on the other. (Big business is notoriously color-blind.) Professor Hutt finds the influence of the Dutch Reformed Church another negative factor; just like the majority of Afrikaners it is nationalistic and "anti-capitalist." The mischief emanating from Christian thinkers who oppose a free economy and thus wind up supporting plain reaction, is evidently not confined to Western Europe and North America. Yet Professor Hutt would also reject the one-man-one-vote formula for South Africa, and rightly so. A new way has to be found for South Africa.

MR. HUTT'S SKEPTICISM as regards Bantustans is not shared by the French journalist Paul Giniewski who is most optimistic about these budding autonomous areas. Such experiments, however, can only be judged after some lapse of time; we can merely speculate about their eventual fate.

The last part of the book is dedicated to the question of the role of the United Nations in Africa. Pieter Lessing, as a South African, takes a charitable view (though riddled with mental reservations), while the Rumanian journalist Mugur D. Valahu, from his vantage point in Elizabethville, is far more skeptical. Still, we obviously have to ask ourselves whether, in the light of the constant deterioration of the United Nations, this problem has any pertinence in the coming years. Mr. Valahu, as a matter of fact, gives an eloquent picture of the disastrous and very costly actions of the United Nations in the Congo, which now is again a financial ward of Belgium no less so than most of the ex-French colonies which live on French handouts.

The final chapter is a summing up by Mr. James Burnham. He exhorts his fellow Americans to face realities and not to get lost in utopian fiction, as the ruling American Left certainly

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does. He sees no need for his country to be subservient to the United Nations with its Communist-Third World majority; the United States should decide "its own interests, course and destiny."

This volume, so ably edited by Mr. Frank S. Meyer, has breathtaking parts; it is highly informative and very comprehensive. One merely regrets that there is no chapter on the Portuguese (and Spanish) colonies. Patrice Lumumba, moreover, I would not describe as a "former trusted employee in the white administration," but rather as a man who had embezzled money from the post office, for which he had been jailed. Nor is it *quite* true that before the departure of the Belgians an African in the Congo could not get into the professions. It is true that the first MDs and Ph.Ds from Lovanium University graduated only in 1961; but this mishap was due to the Belgians' upset time-table. Independence was scheduled for 1975. I would also have liked to see more stress on the fact that the precipitate decolonization under which Africa suffers is *primarily* the result of the Cold War. It is this struggle which has helped to forge that curious Washington-Moscow anticolonialist axis resulting in an uninterrupted auction: "I can be more anti-colonialist than you." Washington had hoped that its stand would bring forth "gratitude" from the "liberated nations"; but America has only earned contempt and suspicion from the Africans and hatred from the still surviving European settlers and expellees. All of which makes complete the tragedy we sense throughout the pages of this honest book.

Paramilitary Politics

RICHARD S. WHEELER

IN THE FEW tumultuous years since the Montgomery boycott, we have grown so accustomed to manifestations of civil disobedience and nonviolence that we forget just how radical these innovations are. Nonviolence is a type of direct paramilitary action designed to emasculate laws and topple social structures. It has the advantage of great speed compared with traditional political and juridical engines of change.

A Manual of Direct Action, by Martin Oppenheimer and George Lakey. Quadrangle, $1.65

Direct action has been employed on a number of occasions in American history, ranging from the Boston Tea Party to the Bonus March of the thirties. But it never became a permanent, integral part of our politics until the civil rights movement employed it as a routine tool. This escalation of civil disobedience to the level of daily happenstance has proven to be a watershed not only between republicanism and democracy, but also between parliamentary politics and the mobocratic tactics first developed by Hitler and Mussolini. The techniques of nonviolence have proven much too efficacious in this era of instant mass communication ever to be abandoned again by power-hungry groups. The result has been to shift the American political spectrum noticeably toward mobocracy, and spawn a new breed of incendiary agitator-politician, such as Bayard Rustin, who no more resembles a traditional parliamentary politician than Guy Fawkes resembles Winston Churchill.

The appearance of *A Manual for Direct Action*—a handbook for nonviolent strategy and technique for civil rights foot soldiers — underscores the permanence of direct action in American politics. The authors, both of whom have participated in the Southern wars, are perfectly aware that they are architects of a new political technique, which they take great pains to describe as democratic (because it spreads power). Moreover, they are aware that "the movement now goes beyond the relations between the races and involves the relationship of men to all other men, and the relationship between all men and the basic decision-making processes of our society." On this basis we can surely expect manifestations of civil disobedience everywhere: on the campuses, in business, in the bureaucracy, and even in the military services. "As James Farmer pointed out," they write, "we are in our infancy in nonviolent action. In the course of the revolution we grow to maturity."

The focus of the manual is street politics: how to organize picket lines, handle tear gas, go limp, get arrested, deal with the fuzz, survive in jail, and direct a mob. There's scarcely a word about the movement's goals or grievances. The whole question of whether there is ever virtue in breaking the law is avoided. Neither is there much emphasis on persuasion or routine elective politics, or anything else connected with an "outmoded" parliamentary tradition.

The handbook is by no means a manual of revolution, even though some of the strategies described are explicitly lawless. The idea is to achieve a kind of social brinksmanship rather than trigger a revolution. Many of the lawful strategies and tactics are wholly desirable as vehicles of social protest for oppressed minorities. Their purpose is to dramatize evil, and they depend more on the skills of the impresario than of the revolutionary politician. "We want to make it clear at the outset," write the authors, "that we neither advocate nor advise breaking the law . . . We believe that, whenever possible, direct action should take place within the law." But they hasten to add that "there are places and times when law so abuses the inherent rights of people that the only way to make grievances known . . . is to violate the law. Every individual must decide for himself. . . ."

That's where they leave it, neither explaining what inherent rights are nor explaining why violating law is the only avenue of redress in some circumstances. No consideration is given to the ultimate fruits of chronic

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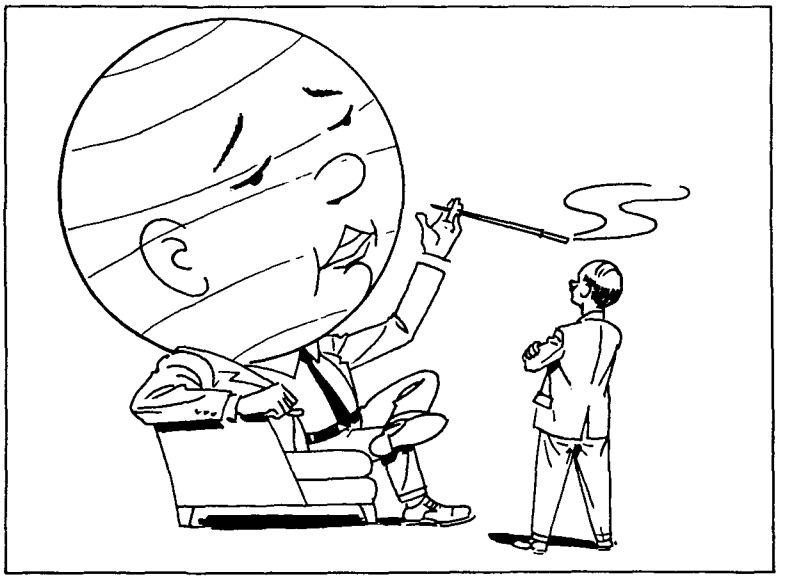

Man Interviews World About Art

WORLD: Don't you see, Man, if you want to understand Art, *study ME* — not the art works themselves. It's what happens right here on my surface that determines whether art works are "good" or "bad" — not the qualities of the art works themselves.

MAN: You mean it's mainly a gamble.

WORLD: Of course. Don't be so shocked. It's natural. When, as a result of a new invention, something becomes easy to do which was formerly hard to do — when sensations which had been rare become commonplace — thousands of previously "great" art works sink into oblivion. They become superfluous. What else could you expect? And accidents as to who does or does not get born and who does or does not survive can have even more far-reaching effects. For instance, let me tell you something about Mozart, whom you earthlings are so enthusiastic about just now. Eighteen men, practically duplicates of him were living on me at the same time he was. If they had all attained full achievement — instead of succumbing to various misfortunes — you would probably be referring to *Jupiter Symphony* as merely another mediocre musical composition among hundreds. An unusual case, you think? No more than countless others I have seen. Continents rise and fall; ice ages come and go; highly exceptional men make their appearance for no discernible reason. But don't draw the wrong conclusion. That doesn't mean I am completely unpredictable. I have certain trends and likelihoods. As I said, *Study me*, and you can learn to make fairly dependable short-term guesses about art, more or less as a meteorologist can in forecasting the weather. And with experience you can gradually do better and better.

MAN: You mean there are no immortal art works which will be eternally beautiful, no matter what happens? But everybody says . . .

WORLD: Please don't make me laugh too hard — I might explode through one of my extinct volcanoes. Well . . . it's been an interesting talk. You look cute in clothes. I remember you when you wore a tail and nothing else. Goodbye, and don't let the "wise guys" bluff you any more.

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"Language greatly used has all the sanction of a sacrament: the race is as incapable of forgetting a great poem as it is of losing its last wish under the stars."

"No words that man can any more set side by side can ever affect the mind again like some of the great passages of Homer."

"Art Is Too Important To Kid Yourself About"

No branch of knowledge ever accomplished anything useful so long as it was dominated by mystic-minded men. Astronomy had to get rid of the astrologer; Medicine of the witch-doctor; Meteorology of the fellow who claimed he could forecast the weather for May 10th, five years ahead. Art is the same way. Until it eliminates the "clairvoyant" men who put on exhibitionistic rantings such as those quoted below (all by famous critics) it will remain in its present state of quackery — and you will remain the slick-talker's easy mark. This does not mean that you deny that experts may know more about art than you do. It means that you deny them the right to use that knowledge to brainwash you instead of to instruct you.

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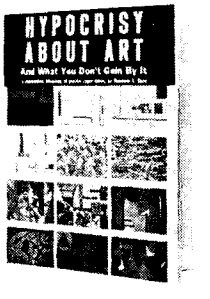

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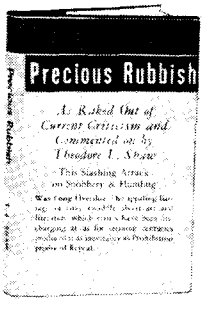
"I loved it — gave three critics one copy each — they loved it. Lost is he who hath no humor." — Dr. Wm. K. Keller, Prof. of Psychiatry, Univ. of Louisville.



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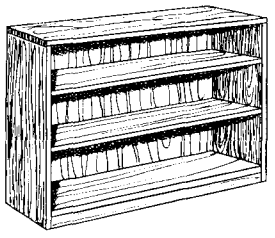

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civil disobedience or what must necessarily follow when any group decides, as a matter of conscience, to disregard some statute or other.

Appended to the manual are a number of statutes ranging from the Bill of Rights to the 1964 Civil Rights Act. These are commended to the civil rights worker as the legal bulwarks of his liberties. It is supremely ironic that a manual which instructs its readers in the calculated demolition of legal authority should, in the end, commend a body of law to its readers! It is possible that the day may yet arrive when the precedents so ably codified in this book are used to mount an attack on the very laws which guarantee these young revolutionaries their freedom today.

Men and Letters

The Decay of Poetry

PETER RUSSELL

It is pretty generally admitted that since the great generation of Wallace Stevens, Ezra Pound and T. S. Eliot, the standard of poetry in the U.S.A. and Great Britain has been steadily "going down." It's true that these poets were all falling over themselves to be "modern"—at least in their earlier work—but all or most of them may be seen in retrospect to have been deeply imbued with the classical world picture, Christian theology, and the mythologies of the traditional literatures. Today, when a literary education (of a sort) is open to almost any reasonably bright student in the U.S.A. or even Western Europe, the situation in the colleges and universities has altered enormously and the scope of the courses offered is fundamentally different. The class structure of the Arts student is no longer that of upper middle class boys and girls but a cross-section of all.

Belles Lettres, that upper class phenomenon, has been replaced by something nearer the German philological training (though happily much diluted), and "creative writing" has emerged as a new genre only to merge again almost as precipitately with commercial writing, journalism, and mass communication. The Mandarin style is no longer taught or even prized, and indeed the barbarous styles of the Beats appeal far more widely to the young, not to mention a significantly large proportion of the more starry-eyed professors. Modernity for modernity's sake has likewise fused with the slicker new techniques of communication, and the old criteria of "good taste" are presently very widely held in disrepute.

Gone are the days when only the upper class or rich man could afford to devote a life to poetry (Wordsworth, Landor, Shelley, Byron . . . . Patmore . . . . Pound). Nowadays any reasonably talented young man if he toes the line very approximately in the universities can get a not too exacting teaching job which ought to leave him time enough to write what he wants, and which will give him a more than adequate salary to live well and support a wife and children. Censorship, prejudice, social narrow-mindedness, are certainly less shackling now than they have ever been before, and yet poetry seems to be at its lowest ebb since that dull period between the death of Gray and the appearance in 1798 of the Lyrical Ballads.

A wider public for poetry is being educated in colleges than ever before, there is wide publicity for and interest in poetry, and yet the sales are lower than ever before, comparatively speaking. People have more money to buy both time and books, but they certainly do not buy

poetry as the Victorian readers did. One may blame this on the enormously increased facilities for other forms of entertainment and the modern mania for buying a vastly wider range of consumer goods, but I feel that the real reason is that the modern poet is not offering anything serious enough or compelling enough to demand the attention of a wide public.

One cannot fail to note the lack of seriousness, the out-of-contactness,

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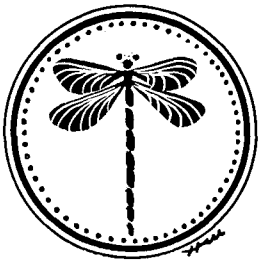
the egoism, of most mid-twentieth century poetry. One feels that the Tennysons, Brownings, Patmores and their lesser contemporaries knew instinctively that poetry was concerned *with everything*. But a dreadfull *malaise*, attractive to the early twentieth century, seems to have infected sensitive people, at first in France (Rimbaud, Laforgue . . .), and a desire to be modern, to debunk, to be different at all costs, even if superficial and ineffective, possessed the new young generations. Sophistication became more important than profundity or seriousness of intention and the so-called avant garde of the 1960s are, ironically, the old-fashioned young people who find this outmoded frivolity modern and clever. One leading British poet, an official of the BBC Third Program and an editor of considerable influence, exhibits himself in a night club with sick jokes, Freudian obsessions and other antique gags (and nothing else), and is widely hailed as *the* young poet of perfidious Albion. I'm all for allowing serious culture to infiltrate the entertainment world, but if the serious artist in doing so merely deteriorates into a sophisticated entertainer *tout court*, then it seems pointless.

PEACOCK SHOWED very convincingly in his 1820 essay how the poet was, in what we would now call the Late Stone Age and Bronze Age, a combination of priest, scientist and visionary in whom, exclusively, all knowledge and lore and wisdom was vested. He might write epics, or prayers, didactic poems on agriculture or stock-breeding, love spells, magical exhortations demanding success in war or good weather conditions for the harvest, or frank curses on enemies, but he was *par excellence* the "wise man." His training in those far-off times was intense and lengthy like that of the few remaining Siberian and Polynesian shamans of today, and, like them, he was deeply respected and often earned that respect again and again.

Nowadays the poet feels that he is an outcast, a useless member of society, a dreamer at other people's expense as it were, and he is busy trying to ingratiate himself with society (or disgrace himself) whether in university or jazz club, political movement or journalistic rag. He no longer attempts to be independent, to be someone to reckon with for his own superior intuition, imagination, wisdom or knowledge.

In last December 11th's issue of *Time* (no friend of culture by a long



chalk, but a sensitive engine none the less, whatever its intentions) we read that, according to the President of the Carnegie Foundation, a "crisis of values" has infected a generation of young scholars with "the crassest opportunism in grantsmanship, job-hopping and wheeling-dealing." One doesn't have to have the inside information available to the Carnegie Foundation to know that there is a lot in this really shocking accusation, in spite of the many hard-working and serious professors who really do care for their students well and selflessly. But it is into this atmosphere that the young poet or hopeful serious writer is projected. Is it any wonder that they succumb to the rat race and fail as creative spirits? Never has the poet who is not a true poet, the scholar who is not a true scholar, the teacher who is not a devoted teacher, had it so good. And the fault is in the university authorities and the great so-called philanthropic foundations.

One of the troubles is, of course, that when a foundation is set up, someone has to administer it, and wherever an administration is set up, an organization emerges which seems set upon delaying and nullifying its own declared intentions. The slowest way of solving a legal problem is to go to a professional lawyer; the one way not to solve a cultural problem is to go to a foundation. The institutional organizations are so absorbed with their own administration for its own sake that they lose almost all sense of their own purpose. And when they do expend sums of money on "culture," all to often they give to just those projects and individuals who least need it—to established and high-earning writers and painters, to well-paid professors, to commercial theaters that are already booming.

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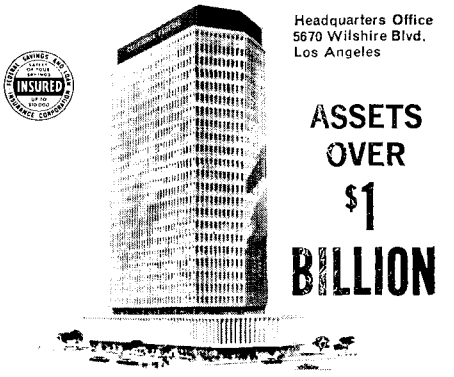

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one feels that the man who felt himself a poet, whether he was a Wordsworth, a Barnes, a Clare or a Tennyson, relied on his own intellectual and imaginative gifts and tried to give of his best to the community. Emerson is perhaps the greatest example of such a man. Up till our own time ("Age" would be to overestimate the significance of our literary status in history), the poet gave of everything he had or could acquire intellectually. He combined in his writings and exhortations all his possible knowledge and wisdom for largely altruistic purposes. Today, we see far less "taste" and far fewer "values."

IN THE MEANTIME however, the world we live in has altered out of recognition. The second scientific revolution with its bio-cybernetic basis which more than anything else is shaping our lives today, demands a radically new attitude and knowledge on the part of priest, poet, mystic or painter. Any attitude on the part of the artist which takes in less than the sum total of human knowledge about everything is defective and can only lead to minor art. The failure of modern poetry is due as much as anything to its self-imposed limitation to the subject-matter of the Arts lecture room, its lack of fundamental serious thinking, and its rejection of all but purely literary tradition. As the late Norbert Wiener —himself virtually the founder of the new science of cybernetics—put it, "a generation ago, the first academic refuge of the intellectual out of touch with his time was the Department of Classics. It is now, above all, the Department of English."

My own intuition tells me that there is more material for poetry (that is, imagination) in the new studies of biology, cosmology and cybernetics, than in all the activities of English Departments (important as some of their efforts are). With George Santayana I would say, "Life belongs to form, and not to matter," that no poetry today that is not profoundly aware of evolution in the widest sense can be a live poetry, that we can study our own form by studying the forms of the past, whether biological, sociological or literary, that the sterility of recent poetry is due to the inability of university (and so over-specialized) literary students to realize that they are living in a world whose living myths, metaphors and poetics are scientific, and that this is the source whence poetry and imagination draw their nourishment.

I Love to Tell the Story

FRANCIS RUSSELL

"IN THE BEGINNING wuz the Word an' the Word wuz with Gahd" —so begins in an off-screen voice *The Greatest Story Ever Told,* against a background of starry heavens that outflickers anything seen outside a planetarium. Yes, here I am again, at the Cinerama Theater on Boston's Washington Street between the nudies and the lewdies, stuck with another of those interminable epics at one of those interminable matinées. I have seen them all, from the original silent *Ten Commandments* to the sound explosions of the last *King of Kings,* and I have long since given up the idea that any screen good can come out of Nazareth. But even when the rock-candy religion is removed, the lay epics are quite as bad—*Cleopatra, Spartacus, Exodus.* . . . I still think it ought to be possible to make an adult film on the epic scale and achieve the essential object of all epic makers sacred and profane, *i.e.* to recoup on a fifteen-million-dollar investment. For their attention I suggest offhandedly the following objects: *Operation Barbarossa,* Germany's invasion of Russia, the greatest and probably the final campaign on the classical model; Hardy's *The Dynasts;* the real T. E. Lawrence of *The Mint,* rather than the fake one of *The Seven Pillars.*

But back to the late Fulton Oursler's amplification of the Authorized Version. I believe Oursler wrote both a Catholic and a Protestant version of *The Greatest Story Ever Told,* and I understand before his death had been planning Jewish, Unitarian, Christian Science and Free-Thinking versions. Anyhow this present one has been gingered up by Henry Denker in creative association with our own Carl Sandburg, who, I suspect and trust, did no more than strum a banjo in the background. Of course, the basic flaw of all these religious epics is the insincerity of the producers and script writers, most of whom privately equate the Greatest Story with the old Bug House Fables. Yet they feel they can trade to their profit on the uncritical pieties of the hinterland, the kind of well-meaning semi-literates who made Oursler and my late fellow-townsman Lloyd Douglas into best-selling authors.

I have the impression that the film *Greatest Story* must have been shot on a dull day at the bottom of the Grand Canyon. It is the oddest landscape and the muddiest Technicoloring that I have ever seen. Almost every actor in Hollywood bobs up at some time or other in the dun foliage. After all, in four hours there's room for all. And of course every extra overplays himself to the hilt in the hopes that he will be spotted in his anonymity as a potential Clark Gable. I'm not too familiar with film faces but I recognized Charlton Heston at once behind his false whiskers, as he stood up to his waist in the Colorado River, bellowing "Repent" as if he were introducing a candidate at a national convention in the days before sound. Never mind that Repent stuff, Charlton; you just take care of you and I'll take care of me.

Carroll "Baby Doll" Baker as the woman taken in adultery was the brightest color spot in the picture, with her red dress (scarlet woman—get it?). I had thought Sal Mineo had got what was coming to him in *Exodus,* but here he was back as Uriah (unmentioned in the Gospels), the boy who is cured of his lameness. Rousseau said he would believe in miracles when a man who lost his leg grew a new one. I shall believe in film miracles when Sal and Carroll become actors. Bobbing up elsewhere are Pat Boone and Van Heflin and Shelley Winters, Centurion John Wayne, and none other than Ed Wynn hamming it up with a tear in his eye as Old Aram cured of blindness. The raising of Lazarus I had rather not even mention. It must be admitted that Max von Sydow portrays a dignified Jesus and is himself

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an actor, but even he cannot do much with the environment and a script that turns the parables to clichés.

FOUR HOURS is a long time, even with a popcorn intermission, and I was hoping that somewhere along the line in the old De Mille tradition I might get some belly-dancing relief with Salome. Alas, Salome was a flop, with more veils on when she finished than when she started. The legionaries, too, were second-rate, Saturday night militia types. Old Cecil used to turn out sharp soldiers, with enough precision for the Brigade of Guards. Not these. I might give the director-producer-script writer, George Stevens, credit, though. Those scruffy legionaries of his had really desegregated Jerusalem. From what I could see the proportion of Negroes in the crowds was about that of the United States today. And except for a couple of Aunt Jemima types that looked as if they had wandered in from a revival of *Gone With the Wind*, no caricatures. Sidney Poitier as Simon of Cyrene manfully shouldered the balsawood cross.

There were a few relieving moments, but all too few. When, in the temple scenes, they piped in the Hallelujah Chorus, I half expected Stevens was going to work in George III and the coming American Revolution. Oddly enough the Chorus seemed to be coming not from the screen, but from the Gents' Room. My favorite line from the whole production was: "When the Baptist prayed, I felt good!" And I must say that I enjoyed the moment when a member of the Committee for Un-Judaic Activities came into Pilate's office to complain about what was going on, ending up: "And that isn't all—he walked on water." Whereupon Pilate (Telly Savalas) retorted, "Geddout!" When Jesus appeared before the Sanhedrin for questioning, Caiaphas instructed him: "Before you begin, is there any statement that you want to make? Then please just answer the questions." I thought for a moment that He was going to take the Fifth.

What I objected to most was the resurrection, with Max von Sydow billowing up larger than Christ of the Andes. If it hadn't been for that I'd have been able to catch the six o'clock Worcester bus at Park Square and be back in Wellesley in time for dinner.

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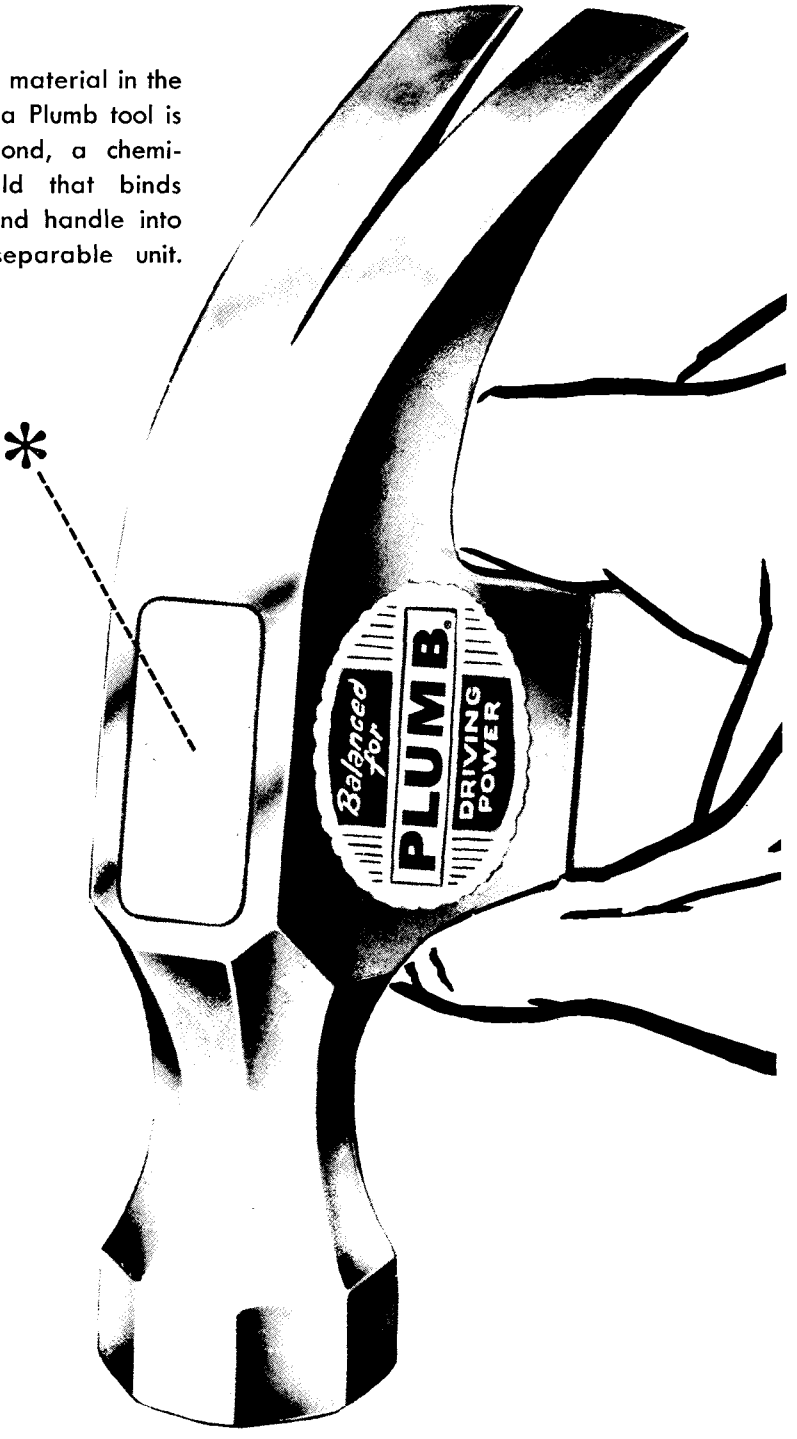

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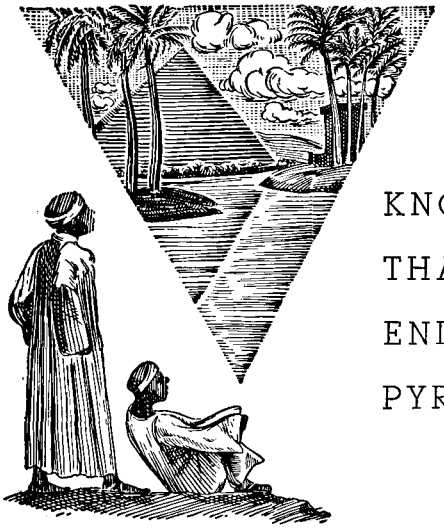

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AMENHOTEP IV
FOUNDER OF EGYPT'S MYSTERY SCHOOLS

As a postscript I should like to leave a few technical notes for producers of future epics, since apparently the religious film we are always to have with us:

1) Roman legionaries marched in time, but *not* in step. Marching in step was an invention of Frederick William, father of Frederick the Great, and the king who originated an often misappropriated remark when he shouted to his soldiers in battle: "Dogs! Do you want to live forever?"

2) The Romans crucified by nailing through the wrist. Nailing through the palms of the hands doesn't hold.

3) Fig leaves were not used on statues in classical times. Also the statues were *always* painted.

4) "Stoning" in the Bible did not consist of throwing stones but of dumping someone in a ditch and rolling boulders on him.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

THE JEALOUS GOD, by John Braine (Houghton, $4.50). Mr. Braine's fourth novel is pale melodrama about the snakes slithering around in the garden of a middle-class Irish Catholic family in northern England. Vincent Dungarvan, master of history at St. Theodoric's Grammar School, is at thirty an undernourished hothouse bloom, nurtured by a megalosaurian mother who has placed one son in the law and another in the wool trade and has only to see Vincent into the Church to complete her design. (The mark of Momma's skill is less that she has been able to convince poor dear Vincent that he may be denying a vocation than that she has so long blinded him to the nastiness of her incessant interfering.) The librarian Laura leads Dungarvan to see that his throbbing concern for matters of the world and the flesh may impede his progress towards the priesthood and, to illuminate this insight, Braine brings a tractor into the Beckfield garden to reveal all sorts of serpents: Dungarvan's seductive sister-in-law who may be pregnant by him, Laura's firm Protestantism and her recent divorce from a salesman who may be a homosexual (or worse), a philandering father, and a (possibly) impotent brother. The au-

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thor is a skillful gardener, however, and he has a patch bright and neat enough for the cover of the Sunday rotogravure before he is done. The tradition here is from the excursions of Ford Maddox Ford and Graham Greene into the complexities of sex and religion in the Catholic sensibility. Braine, who never quite succeeds in avoiding the tenor of the television domestic serial, adds little of value to the perceptions of those masters.

R. BEMIS

FORTRESS CUBA, by Jay Mallan (Regnery, $.75). With the Communist bastion 90 miles from our shores notably absent from official utterance and public notice, this slender but informative volume could do much to awaken a slumbering United States. In smooth narrative style, author Mallan spells out the somber story of Cuba's communization, from the raid on the Moncada Barracks to the 1962 missile crisis. Readers may not be in complete agreement with Mallan's assumptions about the course of the Cold War, but they will find him a fount of useful knowledge of such things as Castro's early background, the place occupied by his brother Raúl, the guerrilla stratagems of Castro's lieutenant "Che" Guevara, and the continued presence of Soviet-supplied arms menacing to the United States. Of particular interest is Mallan's final chapter, dealing with the default of government and many segments of the press in keeping the nation informed of what is afoot in Latin America. M. S. EVANS

SOLUTION TO LAST ISSUE'S TRANS-O-GRAM (May 4)

WINSTON CHURCHILL, STATEMENT

The basic strength of America, in my judgment, lies in the fact that the forty-eight states, acting through their own legislative bodies, can to a very considerable degree determine their own local problems. You are not centralized in America like we are in England.

TO THE EDITOR

(Continued from p. 400)

not be trusted depends upon ignoring the role of Russia both times. Presumably wartime censorship had much to do with shaping the orthodox image, but the problem might be a base for the "truly arresting and provocative studies" called for by Mr. Whalen.

GORDON TULLOCK
Charlottesville, Va. University of Virginia

Molnar on Sartre (Round Two)

Mr. James L. Lacy ["To The Editor," May 4] may know something about Sartre the philosopher, but hardly anything about the genre of polemical writing which he, on his own level of a five-year-old, confuses with "objective, mature handling of criticism." Let me reassure him on the first point: I wrote my doctoral dissertation (Columbia, 1952) on Existentialism.

On the second point: although Mr. Lacy wishes to pin on me what to him seems a repulsive medal, patriotism, my intention was not to demonstrate "our superiority." Rather: the moral defectiveness of a *salaud* and his impertinent claims. Who knows? As a connoisseur of Sartre, Mr. Lacy may even understand my reference!

New York, N.Y. THOMAS MOLNAR

I would like to express at least briefly my great pleasure at reading Thomas Molnar's piece on Sartre [April 6], a name I hate even mentioning. That someone as disgusting and contemptible should be honored as he is in the West cannot but be a sign of the future which awaits us. . . .

I would like to believe that the people on top in Washington have finally understood how Communists must be treated. Unhappily, it is always too little and too late, as witness the floods of words that compromise the serious acts.

Paris BORIS SOUVARINE

The Untaught

As a high school senior I must note that every word Mr. Dave Berkman said about us ["Robert McNamara, Crime Syndicate Head," April 6] is true. The amazing fact is that among the worst offenders are just those students who plan to go to state teachers' colleges where they can major in their "best subject" and eventually teach in high school.

Mount Vernon, N.Y. ELLEN COURTIEN

Speaking Up . . .

What do you know about the Congo; about Algeria or South Africa? Dr. Thomas Molnar, professor of French Literature and Philosophy, has recently returned from an extensive trip to Africa. And he will be available for speaking engagements over the next few months to discuss his travels and forthcoming book, *AFRICA: A Political Travelogue.*

Your university or club might also write now for openings in the Spring and Summer schedules of our other speakers: William A. Rusher, publisher of National Review; Frank S. Meyer, senior editor of National Review; Ralph de Toledano, syndicated columnist and author of *The Winning Side:* L. Brent Bozell, attorney, lecturer and author of a forthcoming historical study of the Supreme Court; Russell Kirk, professor of politics, syndicated columnist and author of *Fulminations of a Nocturnal Bookman;* Dr. Anthony T. Bouscaren, writer and professor; Ernest van den Haag, noted social scientist; plus Erik Ritter von Kuehnelt-Leddihn and William F. Rickenbacker.

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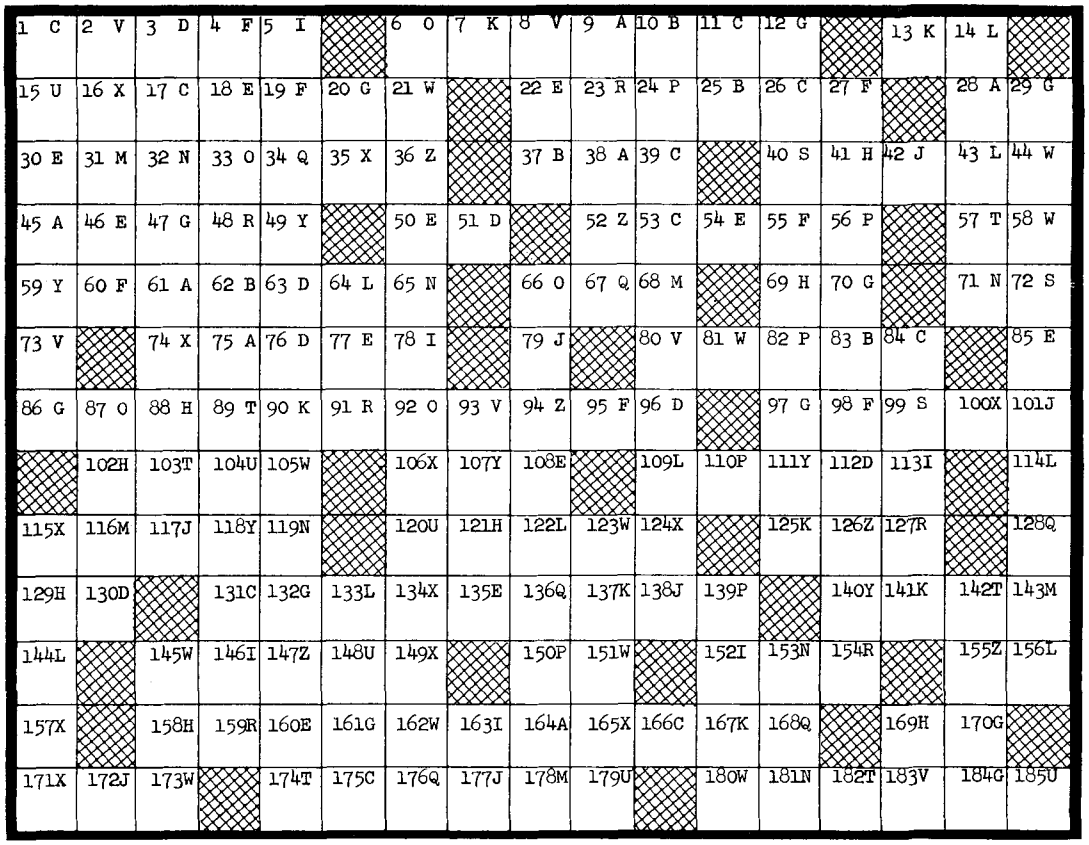
TRANS-O-GRAM

by Svend Petersen

DEFINITIONS	WORDS
A. Cost of words D, W, and X, to you and your descendants.	28 164 9 75 61 87 38 45
B. New England senator.	37 10 25 83 62
C. A criminal who relapses.	84 26 131 17 39 175 53 166 11 1
D. What Roosevelt called it (2 wds.).	51 63 130 3 112 76 96
E. One who is bugs on words.	54 18 108 160 50 135 30 85 77 22 46
F. A fanfare.	60 4 27 19 95 55 98
G. The muse of dancing and choral song.	70 20 29 161 170 132 184 12 47 97 86
H. Instruction or instructing.	102 129 169 158 121 69 41 88
I. Flow of cadences in language.	113 152 5 163 146 78
J. Wise guy.	138 117 177 172 101 79 42
K. Our sixth largest state.	125 141 13 137 167 7 90
L. Man who gave his birthday to girl who was born Christmas Day.	144 114 43 133 122 64 14 109 156
M. Town in Australia.	178 31 116 68 143
N. What 'Pravda' editor does (2 wds. or 1).	181 119 32 153 71 65
O. All, considered one by one.	6 66 33 92
P. Singularity.	24 82 139 150 110 56
Q. Senator from Arizona.	128 34 67 168 136 176
R. Withstand.	159 91 23 48 154 127
S. Town in Garfield County, Colorado.	40 99 72
T. One of Jacob's wives.	89 182 57 103 142 174
U. Unscramble AT A WAR.	120 104 148 179 15 185
V. Possessing.	2 80 73 93 183 8
W. What Kennedy called it (2 wds.).	21 162 145 180 123 58 105 151 81 173 44
X. What Johnson calls it (2 wds.).	100 16 124 106 165 35 115 74 134 149 171 157
Y. Let go of me.	118 59 111 140 107 49
Z. A game at which two can play.	147 94 155 126 36 52

See page 433 for solution of last issue's Trans-O-Gram.



DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the WORDS (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black lines indicating the end of a word); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of Webster's New International Dictionary, Second Edition.

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For The Record

Lyndon Johnson's strike-back tactics in Vietnam getting support (somewhat belatedly) from conservatives, young, middling and mature. On the campus level last week: At Washington and Lee nearly 800, of student body of 1,100, signed resolution supporting LBJ which was, it is reported, "most gratefully" received at State Department. . . . In Jersey City, 750 students of St. Peter's college staged rousing "We Back Johnson" demonstration (one placard read: "Mao Tse-tung is a fink"). . . . The Fort Lee Chapter of New Jersey YAF is staging monster rally on May 18 (speakers: Sen. John Tower, NR editors Frank Meyer, Brent Bozell) at Teaneck auditorium: hope to demonstrate they can outdraw leftist kook rallies by filling 13,000-seat armory. (For info: Box #391, Fort Lee, N.J.—Tel. 934-1020). . . . And the grandpappy anti-appeasement outfit of them all—The Committee of One Million Against Admission of Communist China to the United Nations, 79 Madison Ave., N.Y.—is mounting nationwide petition campaign (see editorial section) against any concession to Red China. An able attack against Red China's admission to the UN has been written for the Committee by Sen. Dominick (R., Colo.).

As expected. The ADA is heading attack on President Johnson's sending of the Marines to Santo Domingo. (It is "gunboat diplomacy" etc., etc. and will "encourage" Communists throughout Latin America). . . . Also heard from—violently—Sens. Morse (Ore.) and Ellender (La.), both demanding instant withdrawal. . . . Republican ranks in both House and Senate closed solidly behind the President.

Hats in the ring, sort of: Adam Clayton Powell Jr. says he would like to run against Mayor Wagner in NYC Democratic primary, if he could get the financial backing (could be why NY's most famous exile has decided to pay up on that libel judgment). . . . George Romney, with eye firmly fixed on '68, says he may run for Senate in '66, opposing ailing Sen. Pat McNamara in primary. . . . Hard put: Democratic leaders in Ohio to find a likely candidate to put up against GOP Gov. James Rhodes. They've been turned down by Astronaut John Glenn and ex-SAC commander Curtis LeMay.

Justice Dept. interested in why Richard Maguire, head money man at Democratic National Committee, has not yet submitted party audit promised last January. Justice's interest: whether Democratic fund drives in Post Office Dept., Rural Electrification Administration, during '64 campaign were legal. . . . Eyebrows raised over interest Liberal Republican State Chairman Craig Truax of Penn. is taking in Young Republican convention, to be held in Miami a month from now. . . . In Wisconsin, conservative YRs smashed Liberal opposition, electing Jim Staples by vote of 2-1.

Beaton, Toronto *Telegram* — Ben Roth Agency

"Let go of that poor man!"

International Red Cross has arranged links that would permit U.S. captives of Vietcong to receive mail. . . . Jacques Soustelle's startling A New Road for France now out in English (New York, Robert Speller and Sons, $5.95).

No threat to Tinpan Alley, songsmith Sukarno, who informed the world he wouldn't go to Tokyo to talk to Malaysia Prime Minister Rahman by bursting into song at a Jakarta rally: ♫"Why should I go to Tokyo," he caroled, "I should stay here with the people."♫

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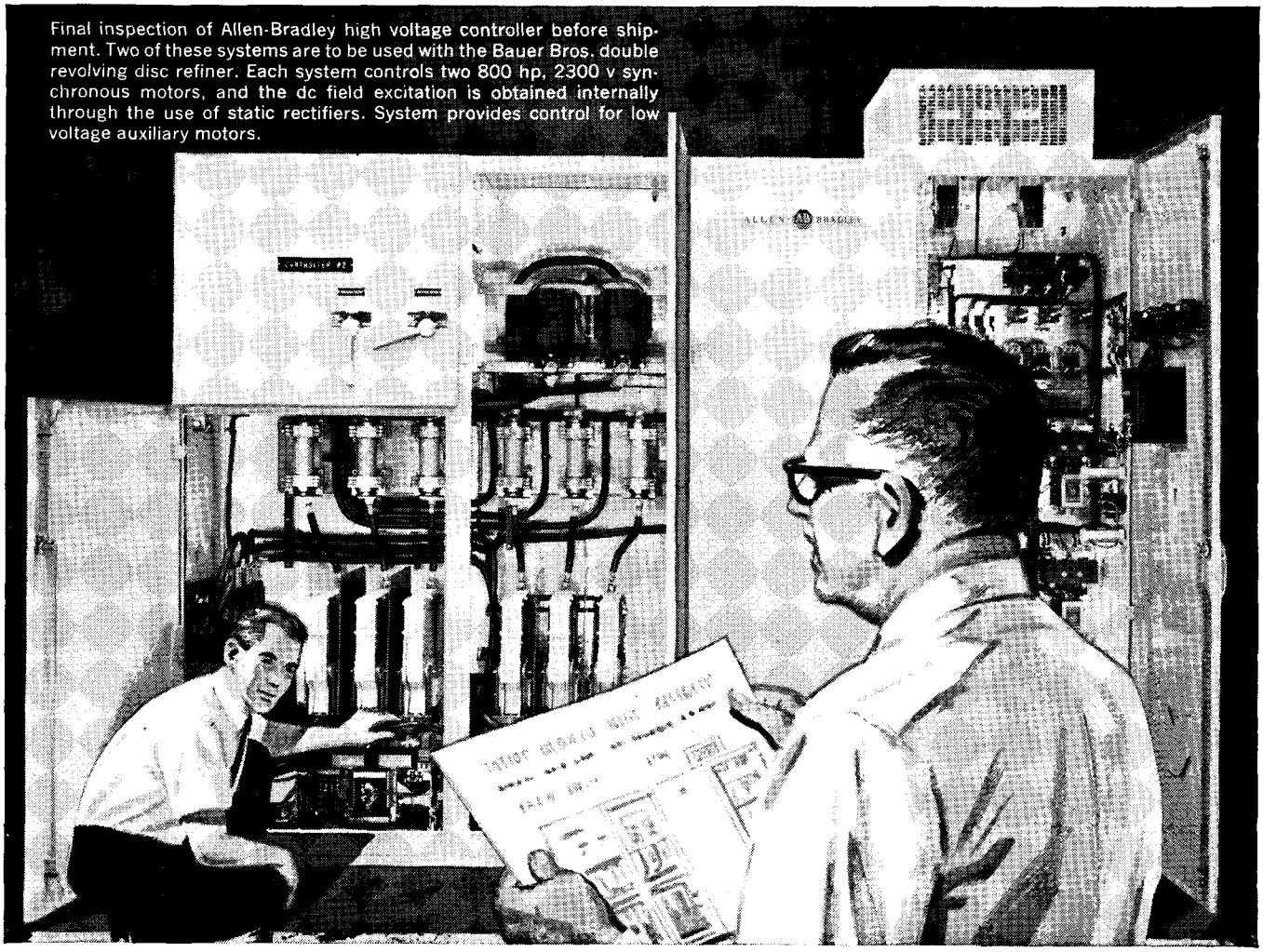

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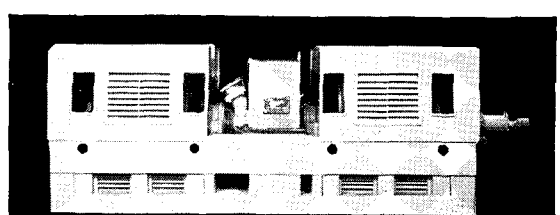

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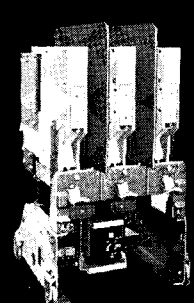

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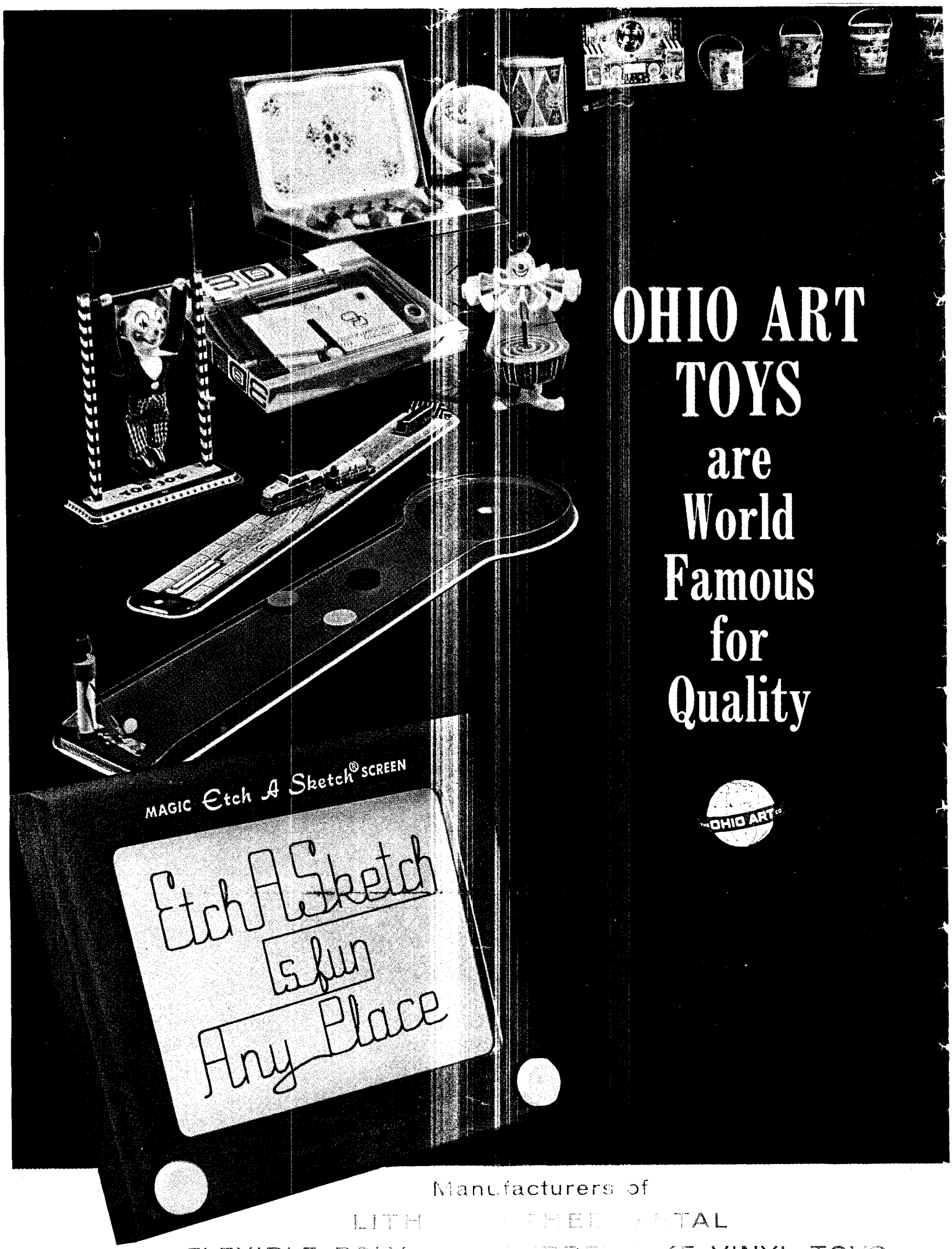

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